Rural Sociology

VOLUME 23 SEPT

SEPTEMBER 1958

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Book Reviews * Bulletin Reviews * News Notes

Official journal of the Rural Sociological Society

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Published Quarterly

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY is published by the Rural Sociological Society. The office of publication is located in the Department of Rural Sociology, New York State College of Agriculture, a unit of the State University of New York at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Months of publication are March, June, September, and December.

Members of the Rural Sociological Society are entitled to receive Rural Sociology. Dues for active members are \$7.50 per year, of which \$6.00 is for a year's subscription to the journal. Dues for student members and emeritus members are \$4.00 a year, \$3.75 of which is for the subscription. Applications for membership and payment of dues should be made to the Secretary-Treasurer, Herbert F. Lionberger, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The subscription rate for nonmembers, libraries, and others is \$7.00 a year, \$2.00 a copy, in the United States and Canada; \$7.50 a year and \$2.15 a copy in all other countries, postage paid. Subscriptions should be sent to Managing Editor, 34 Warren Hall, Ithaca, New York.

Manuscripts and business correspondence should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Books for review, bulletins for review, and news notes and announcements should be sent directly to the appropriate departmental editor, as indicated above.

Second-class mail privileges authorized at Ithaca, New York. Additional entry authorized at Geneva, New York.

Published under the supervision of Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York
PRINTED BY THE W. F. HUMPHREY PRESS INC., GENEVA, NEW YORK

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CONTENTS

Board Members as Decision Makers in Farmers' Co-operatives William S. Folkman	239
Farmers' Knowledge: An Appraisal of Stouffer's H-Technique C. M. Coughenour and J. R. Christiansen	253
Roles of the Extension Subject-Matter Specialist Emory J. Brown and Albert Deekens	263
A Rural Community at the Urban FringeAlbert Schaffer	277
The Place of Returning Migrants in a Stratification System William H. Form and Julius Rivera	286
Church Participation Related to Social Class and Type of Center	
Victor Obenhaus, W. Widick Schroeder, and Charles D. England	298
Book Reviews	309
Luis Martiney-Sandin	309
Archer: Elementary Education in Rural Areas	
Wm. McKinley Robinson	309
Arriola: Integracion social en GuatemalaLuis Martiney-Sandin	310
Barnett: Indian ShakersOtis Durant Duncan	310
Beyer: Housing: A Factual Analysis James E. Montgomery	311
Bogue: Applications of Demography; The Population Situation in the U.S. in 1975	312
Brunner: The Growth of a ScienceLowry Nelson	312
Likert and Hayes: Some Applications of Behavioral Research	
F. Ivan Nye	313
Lively and Preiss: Conservation Education in American Colleges	
Mary Alice Ericson	314
Lystad: The Ashanti: A Proud People Everett M. Rogers	315
Rich: The Rural Church Movement	316
Sorokin: Social and Cultural Dynamics	316
Taeuber and Taeuber: The Changing Population of the United States Robert G. Burnight	317
Woofter: Southern Race ProgressFrank D. Alexander	318
Troubles Sometier Hutter Pogress, Italik D. Alcadittel	210

Books Received	319
Selected Rural Fiction in 1957 Prepared by Caroline B. Sherman	321
Bulletin Reviews	323
Anderson: The Characteristics of New York State Population Henry L. Andrews	325
Bertrand: Trends and Patterns in Levels of Living of Farm Families in the U.SOtis Durant Duncan	324
Hartford and Coyle: Social Process in the Community and the Group Harold F. Kaufman	325
Hoffer and Stangland: Farmers' Reactions to New Practices Herbert F. Lionberger	325
Kolb: Neighborhood-Family Relations in Rural SocietySelz Mayo	326
McNamara and Hassinger: Extent of Illness and the Use of Health Services in a South Missouri CountySheldon G. Lowry	327
Maitland and Fisher: Area Variations in the Wages of Agricultural Labor in the United States	328
Metzler and Porter: Employment and Underemployment of Rural People in the Upper Monongahela Valley, West Virginia	
Merton D. Oyler	329
Stone and Slocum: A Look at Thurston County's Older People C. Milton Coughenour	330
Warren: "Old Age in a Rural Township" and Farming in the Later Years	331
Weatherford: Geographic Differentials of Agricultural Wages in the United States	332
Other Publications Received	333
News Notes Edited by Marion T. Loftin	335

RURAL SOCIOLOGY is indexed in Agricultural Index, Bibliography of Agriculture, and the bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Selected abstracts are carried regularly in Sociological Abstracts, Psychological Abstracts, Current Sociology, and other publications. Rural Sociology is available on microfilm, to regular subscribers, from University Microfilms, 313 N. First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Board Members as Decision Makers in Farmers' Co-operatives

Decision making in six co-operatives in Arkansas was studied to determine the influence on this process of various role definitions, role conflicts, reference groups, and socioeconomic characteristics of the members of their boards of directors. Through the observation of board meetings and personal interviews conducted with directors, managers, and other influential people the decision process undertaken by each co-operative in a specific action was reconstructed. The above-mentioned factors were found to be influential.

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THE present paper treats one aspect of a study that was recently made by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Arkansas. The objective of the study was to analyze the decision-making process of boards of directors of farmers' co-operative organizations. It was anticipated that the process of decision making would be influenced by such factors as differing role definitions, role conflicts, referents, and reference groups, as well as by various socioeconomic characteristics of the members of the boards.

As used in this study, decision making is defined as the process of interaction leading to, and including, commitment to a program of policy or operations.¹

The project was regarded as essentially exploratory in nature. Six co-operatives were selected for study. They represented different types and sizes of organization but had one factor in common—each had faced a similar major decision problem (need for expansion of physical

•This paper is published with approval of the director of the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

¹Compare with James L. McCamy's definition in "Analysis of the Process of Decision-Making," Public Administration Review, VII (Winter, 1947), p. 41.

facilities) within the year preceding the study.2 Among the six co-operatives there were three local purchasing co-operatives (two furnishing the usual feed, seed, fertilizer, and farm supplies and loosely affiliated with a state-wide wholesale purchasing co-operative and one handling petroleum products exclusively); an R.E.A. electric co-operative; a grain-drying co-operative (closely related to a rice-processing and marketing co-operative); and a small neighborhood co-operative gin.

Each director in the six co-operatives was subjected to a rather lengthy personal interview. A similar interview was conducted with each manager as well as with others, such as farm organization officials, county extension personnel, and local bank officials, revealed, during interviews with the directors, as having been influencial during the time the decision was being made. In addition, the directors were observed in their regular board meetings. Each board was observed at least once. Two of the more accessible co-operatives were observed repeatedly

over a period of eight and twelve months.

By these methods the decision-making process was reconstructed. The framework developed by James W. Green and Selz C. Mayo for the analysis of group action was used as a guide in the reconstruction.3 This rubric borrows from Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils's theory of action4 and, perhaps more directly, from Bales's concept in which an action in a system, as well as the total system of group action "is conceived as proceeding from a beginning toward an end, from a felt need or problem toward a solution, from a state of tension toward tension reduction".5 The analysis is essentially a sequential one, proceeding through four stages: (1) the initiation of action; (2) goal definition and planning for achievement; (3) the implementation of plans; and (4) goal achievement and consequences. This order is not invariant, and the distinctions between stages are not always recognizable. Our concern in this study, however, is primarily with the first two stages, for the decision-making process, as herein defined, ends with the commitment to action which presumably precedes stage 3. This process is briefly sketched below.

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The process of decision making begins with a recognition of a need; some factor blocks or inhibits the achievement of certain goals that the organization has set for itself. Because of his strategic position in

²⁰Expansion of facilities" was the most frequently mentioned problem reported by directors of co-operatives in Arkansas in response to a mailed questionnaire.

^{*}A Framework for Research in the Actions of Community Groups," Social Forces, XXXI (May, 1953), pp. 320-327.

Parsons and Shils, eds., Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

⁶Robert F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis: A Method for the Study of Small Groups (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1951), p. 49.

the communication system of the co-operative the manager has more opportunity than does anyone else to develop this initial awareness of need. This is wholly consistent with what approximately one-fourth of the directors said of their roles (see later section). In five of the six co-operatives studied it was the manager who first recognized the need for expansion. In the instance where the manager was not the one who initiated the action his managerial functions had been considerably curtailed. In the petroleum-purchasing co-operative the initiator of the process was one of the directors, who also served as secretary of the organization. He had been one of the prime movers in the organization of the co-operative and through necessity or design had gradually assumed more and more of the managerial functions, so that in fact he occupied the strategic position usually held by the manager.

The managers, with their more acute business orientation, were particularly sensitive to the coincidence of the need for expansion with the functions of the organization. In most instances they anticipated some resistance on the part of the directors to the expression of this need. Two of the managers felt that it was necessary to approach one or two of the key directors and "sell" them on the need before presenting it formally to the board as a whole. In this way they were assured of at least some sympathetic support from the group regarding their proposal. The others felt that their relationship with their boards was such that this process was unnecessary. A good manager has his board "in his pocket" in the opinion of some managers.

In addition to the individual board member's not being in as strategic a position to be aware of the needs of the organization, because his career is less intimately tied up with the growth and development of the organization than is that of the manager, he has less incentive to look for and propose changes. For the manager, however, such proposals not only presumably contribute to the ultimate objectives of the co-operative but reflect upon his capabilities as a manager. He sees such proposals as a fruitful and legitimate means for increasing his career chances, whether within the organization or beyond it.

GOAL DEFINITIONS AND PLANNING FOR ACHIEVEMENT

The shift from genesis of the idea on the part of one individual to goal definition and planning for achievement by the total board is not necessarily an immediate or clear-cut step. One of the managers acknowledged that he had mulled over the idea for a year and a half before presenting it to the board of directors. Most of the initiators of action had gone through on their own many of the planning stages that were later to be more or less retraced with the board. Here again is demonstrated the directors' acquiescence in a role involving merely acceptance or rejection of action proposed by the manager as opposed to initiation of action. As one director put it: "The manager presents

his ideas and we decide whether or not to let him go ahead."

The amount of exploration of the problem area varied considerably among the different co-operatives. The board of the grain drier was able to bring in the manager and other personnel from the parent organization and thus get an almost overwhelming amount of data and advice resulting from the previous experience of a number of other driers. One of the local purchasing organizations (hereafter labeled purchasing co-operative No. I) was in the habit of inviting the county agent to sit in on its board meetings, but there was no indication that his advice at this time was given any greater consideration than that of any of the directors involved. The manager of the other purchasing co-operative took two of the directors on a tour across the state to inspect the type of facilities that other organizations were using. Most of the explorations, however, seemed to have centered around group discussion, "Talking it over." Apparently the intuitive, unsystematic approach to planning that is characteristic of these farmers on their own farm enterprises was carried over into their board deliberations. This was especially true of the smaller, neighborhood or community co-operatives. Whatever the essence of this process might be, it cannot be said on the basis of this study to be inferior to a more sophisticated approach. At any rate, both the organization which used an explicitly systematic approach to determining goal requisites and the means available to meet the goal and the one which, in the opinion of the observer, used the most unsophisticated methods for this determination found, within a year after completion of their new construction, that they had, to a similar extent, underestimated their needs.

Only when the boards had come to an agreement on their goals and their plans were essentially completed did they approach the membership for their approval. The fact that all six of the boards sought ratification of their proposed action by the members is in itself somewhat unusual. Although "expansion of facilities" was the decision problem most frequently referred to the membership for final action, as reported in response to the mailed questionnaire sent to all co-operatives in the state, only 19 of the 57 co-operatives reporting that they had been involved in expansion actually brought the members into the decision process at any time.

Although in all but the grain-drier and electric co-operatives no organized or formal attempt was made to inform the membership of the proposed action before the meetings called for the purpose of approving it, nevertheless, many of the members had learned beforehand, through informal channels, at least some of the details of the proposal. The controlled "leak," practiced by many federal agencies as a deliberate procedural policy, is not a part of the repertoire of these directors. In the process of planning, however, they did, as their man-

ager had previously done with them, feel out certain key members in order to get a sample of opinion. The use of personal influence by directors to bring their friends into line with the board's thinking creates conflict within the directors, as is brought out later in the section on role conflict.

Following this brief description of the decision-making process observed in the actions of these boards of directors of farmers' co-operatives, let us turn to a more detailed consideration of some of the factors affecting their decisions.

ROLE DEFINITION

Membership on a board of directors of a farmers' co-operative carries with it a complex of rights, obligations, and functions. This pattern represents the ideal expectations set by the organization's written and unwritten requirements for the behavior of its board members. Every organization, as a social group, has certain patterns of requirementsbehavior norms-for the various statuses found in the organization. In a co-operative there are patterns for the manager, other employees, the members, and the patrons, as well as for the board members. These patterns include attitudes (how one should feel about what one does) and values (the importance one should attach to what one does) as well as overt behavior. There is, however, a great deal of variation from group to group and from role to role as to the degree of explicitness with which these patterns are spelled out. Some are defined in the broadest of generalities while others may be extremely specific. Here, then, is one potential source of difficulty in any board's attempt to function effectively. The organization may not define roles adequately.

Another, albeit related, source of difficulty in this area rests in the manner in which new board members are initiated into their new roles. In a co-operative each new board member learns, more or less perfectly and from a variety of sources, the particular pattern for his status, and, in time, this pattern governs his behavior as a board member more or less perfectly. The quality of the performance of any board member is dependent not only upon the skill with which he is able to follow this pattern but also how he personally identifies or interprets this ideal pattern. In other words, because this role, like others in life, must be learned, it is frequently improperly or incompletely learned. It requires little exercise of the imagination to comprehend how this might occur in view of the type of learning situations provided for the neophyte director, the models provided by some of the older board members, and the frequent lack of specificity in the organization's ideal pattern. It likewise requires little imagination to realize how this faulty learning might adversely affect the function-

ing of the board.

A series of questions brought out how each director defined his role in the organization. The picture provided by a composite of these definitions is well rounded and covers all the major areas ideally included in such a definition. In the main, however, the individual definitions lack this balance. Almost one-third of the directors placed major, if not exclusive, emphasis upon the control functions of the directors. This was expressed either as a rather diffuse trustee function (looking out for the general interests of the co-operative and/or its members) or as a specific policing function (checking up on the manager, finances, and so forth). The latter was the more frequently mentioned. A smaller number, 8 out of 51, emphasized the planning function of the directors in their definitions. The remainder, a little more than half of the directors, included both planning and control functions in their concept of the director's role. For most of the directors mentioning it as a function, planning included the making of operational as well as broad policy decisions. For some, as mentioned earlier, their role in planning was considered to be only advisory.

Table 1. Major emphases in the role definitions of directors of six farmers' co-operatives*

C	Role definition emphasis											
Co-operative	Control	Planning	Combi- nation	Total								
		Nun	nber									
Purchasing co-operative No. I	4	1	2	7								
Purchasing co-operative No. II	1	2	6	9								
Grain-drying co-operative	2	1	6	9								
Electric co-operative	3	-	6	9								
Petroleum-purchasing co-operative	2	4	3	9								
Co-operative gin	3	1	4	8								
Total	15	9	27	51								
"Decision makers"	4	3	8	15								

[•]The figures in this table as well as those throughout the paper should not be taken as representative of a parent population. They represent summaries of case studies and as such do not confirm interpretation but merely suggest it.

The variation from organization to organization is also considerable (Table 1). Over half of the directors of purchasing co-operative No. I defined their role in terms of controlling the day-to-day operations of the organization, and a similar proportion of the directors of the petroleum-purchasing co-operative placed their emphasis upon the planning function. Purchasing co-operative No. II, the grain-drying co-operative, and the electric co-operative had the highest proportion of definitions which were balanced in this regard.

It is difficult to relate the effect of a particular type of role definition to a specific decision in a *post factum* analysis. In the observation of decision making in the ongoing situation of a board of directors'

meeting, however, this relationship was observed.

For the most part, the role definitions of these board members tended to cause them to concentrate on short-range, rather than long-range, planning. In all of the meetings most of the action was concerned with the minutiae of immediate operations. This was true even in those organizations where the majority of the directors, according to their definitions of their roles, were "policy"-oriented. There was, however, a tendency for those who saw their role as a policy-making one either to attempt to relate these operational decisions to a broader, over-all policy or to refer them back to the manager for decision in the light of established policy. On the other hand, those who were "control"-oriented tended to think in terms of particulars and specifics rather than in generalizations. In their watchdog role they were less inhibited than policy-oriented directors about acting upon any item coming before them.

On the basis of the extent of their participation and the content of their participation in board meetings, certain directors in each board were identified as "decision leaders." George C. Homans has suggested that a leader might be defined as "the man who comes closest to realizing the norms the group values highest." To the extent that a particular role orientation represented a group value, it was anticipated that those directors identified as "decision leaders" would tend to be in the modal group in each board in terms of the role orientation most prevalent in that particular board. Due to the limited number of cases and the lack of agreement within boards as to role definition, this was not demonstrated in this instance. However, as seen in Table 1, in total the "decision leaders" have a distribution similar to that of all the other directors in the various categories.

ROLE CONFLICT

As an elected leader of a co-operative organization, a director is exposed to incompatible behavioral expectations. In addition to the sometimes conflicting definitions of the role of director found among

The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950), p. 188.

the various members of the board, an array of pressures from his contacts in other group situations carry over expected forms of behavior which may be incompatible with the demands of his position as director. Also, as various observers have pointed out, some of the typical values in American culture are incompatible.

To explore the significance of this area of role conflict, the directors were asked a series of forced-answer questions concerning the qualities of an "ideal director." The content of the items reflected the bipolarities of value, or the dimensions of role conflict, described by Melvin Seeman: (1) status, (2) authority, (3) institutional dimension, and (4) means-ends.

Briefly, the status dimension refers to the conflict between the success ideology, on the one hand, and the equality ideology on the other. The authority dimension involves the conflict between the values of dependence and independence. In this study it centered around whether the directors should attempt to manipulate the members into acquiescing to the board's decisions or reflect the members' wishes in the making of their decisions. The institutional dimension involves the choice between universalistic as against particularistic criteria for social action. A universalistic obligation is applicable to dealings with anyone (contractual); a particularistic obligation is limited to certain persons who stand in some relationship with one, be he a relative, friend, or whatever. The means-ends dimension is concerned with the conflict between an emphasis on results as against emphasis on the process of achievement.

From the forced-answer questions there was evidence that all of these dimensions presented the directors with conflict. The status dimension and the means-ends dimension stood out as requiring types of behavior which are difficult to achieve under the conditions in which these boards of directors operate. In other words, even where boards are in agreement on social norms, conflict may still exist, for the social norms themselves may be noncomplementary. First taking all of the directors together without regard for differences among organizations, almost three-fifths of the directors recognized that in order to be able to function adequately the directors must feel that the members have some respect for their position. At the same time our American ideology of equality made almost all of them feel the necessity of behaving "like one of the boys" in order to avoid censure by the members who had elected them. This meant that more than half of the directors possessed these incompatible values. To a lesser extent, the expediency of an ends-justifies-the-means situation ran counter to their ethical feelings. The institutional dimension showed the least amount of potential difficulty in this regard.

""Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," American Sociological Review, XVIII (1953), pp. 373-380.

The purchasing co-operative No. I was the only individual organization which did not show significant conflict in at least one of the four dimensions studied. The petroleum co-operative, the electric co-operative, and the purchasing co-operative No. II revealed considerable conflict in three of the areas. There does not seem to be a relationship between the type of organization and the amount of value conflict shown. The two purchasing co-operatives are similar in size and type of organization as well as in other respects, yet one has the least amount of conflict and the other has one of the highest amounts. The grain-drying and the electric co-operative both have relatively urbane, sophisticated board members, but a similar situation exists. Further investigation is needed to check whether these differences in value orientation among different boards reflect actual differences among the communities in which they operate or whether the differences are due to other factors, including faulty measurement.

There was little difference between the "decision leaders" and the other directors except in the means-ends dimension. The "decision leaders" showed considerably less conflict over these two values.

A second type of role conflict delineated by Seeman⁸ involves significant disagreement within the criteria group. Within a board there may be lack of consensus on certain social norms. The institutional dimension was the only one which showed little disagreement within the boards. Only the boards of the petroleum co-operative and the electric co-operative had a significant split of opinion in this area.

When the "decision leaders" were compared with the other directors, it was found that they tended to be a little more equality-oriented and at the same time more universalistic-oriented. The greatest difference, however, was in the means-ends dimension. Here the "deci-

sion leaders" were considerably more means-oriented.

It should, perhaps, be pointed out that the foregoing discussion does not intend to imply that the apparently conflicting expectations held by the directors are necessarily viewed as such by them. Although they are potential sources of conflict, people have ways of living with ambivalence (by compartmentalization and other means) or of avoiding it (by considering certain expectations as being outside of the realm of possibility for some reason or other). However, by indicating the questions which were most difficult to answer, the directors showed the areas in which the conflict was closest to the conscious level. In descending order of awareness the areas so revealed were the means-ends, authority, institutional, and status dimensions. The "decision leaders" exhibited more awareness of conflict in the status and authority dimensions than did the other directors, whereas the opposite was true for the institutional dimension. The means-ends dimension

^{*}Ibid., p. 376.

showed an equally high awareness of conflict on the part of the two

groupings.

There is some indication that the directors' verbalizations may differ significantly from their overt behavior in concrete social situations. This seemed to be particularly true of the institutional dimension. From the forced-answer responses the directors appeared to have a very strong universalistic orientation. Yet in another context, the directors of one co-operative reported that, when they were faced with apparent embezzlement of funds by a former manager, they hesitated about filing charges against him for the definitely particularistic reason that it would embarrass his relatives still living in the area. The resignation of one director was, in part at least, precipitated by the final decision to prosecute. This substantiates the conflict element of the situation, however. Although in their code of Christian living and concepts of morality or ethics, the directors abjure any deviation from "playing by the rules," there is still, especially in the Ozark Hills area, a strong, albeit less definitely articulated, feeling of obligation to family and neighbors. In their listing of things they disliked about their position, one item that appeared frequently was dislike of having to refuse to grant favors to friends of directors. This indicates a conflict of role expectation in this institutional dimension.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DIRECTORS

Although the present study does not deal with the extent to which the value orientations held by the directors differ from those held by the membership, there are indications of differences in at least some of these dimensions. To the extent that these values are related to other personal and socioeconomic characteristics, the data in Table 2

indicate that considerable difference might be expected.

It may be seen that the directors did not differ in terms of age from the membership from which they were chosen. Those directors identified as "decision leaders," however, averaged about four years younger than the other directors. On the other hand, although there was little difference among the directors in terms of number of school years completed, they exceeded the average of the members by two years. There was considerable difference between the directors and the members in their level of living. On the Belcher and Sharp modification of the Sewell scale they averaged approximately 11 points higher in their scores. There was little difference between the decision leaders and the other directors in this regard, but what difference there was favored the former. The directors were much higher than the members by both of the criteria used to measure organizational participation. By these same measures, the decision leaders were considerably higher than the other directors, also.

The decision leaders differed from the other directors in other

Table 2. Selected characteristics of "decision leaders," "other directors," and members* of certain farmers' co-operatives in Arkansas

	Decision leaders	Other directors	All directors	Members
Age of respondent, mean years	47.5	51.8	50.6	51.1
School grades completed, mean number	10.0	10.5	10.4	8.4
Level of living (Belcher and Sharp), mean score	54.8	53.9	54.1	43.2
Total organizational member- ship (excluding cooperative membership), mean number	4.5	3.5	3.8	1.5
Offices held (excluding co- operative offices), mean number	2.1	1.7	1.8	0.2

*The data for members is adapted from another study reported in the author's bulletin, Membership Relations in Farmers' Purchasing Cooperatives (Arkansas Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 556; Fayetteville, June, 1955). Although not directly representing the members of the co-operatives in this study, it is felt that the sample is sufficiently representative of the state as a whole that no major differences should be expected.

respects, as well. When asked to name their three best friends, it was observed that some of the directors were prone to pick persons of high prestige in the community or persons outside the community. Others tended to choose from among neighbors and those of a similar status. When these choices were classified into *friendship*, *status*, or *mixed* orientation, it was found that the decision leaders tended to be more friendship-oriented than did the other directors (Table 3).

The response to a sociometric question was even more marked. When asked to name the three board members they would prefer to work with on a committee, decision leaders were generally selected over the others (Table 4). The reasons given for the choices indicate that they were chosen for their superior skills in interpersonal relations more often than for their ability or special knowledge in other areas. "He's a good old boy," "He's easy to get along with," and "Level headed, doesn't fly off the handle" were typical comments.

On the other hand, the chairman of the board was frequently selected for that position for quite different reasons. In two instances,

Table 3. Friendship-status orientation of "best friend" choices of directors of six farmers' co-operatives

Type of orientation	Decision leaders	Other directors	Total
	%	%	%
Friendship orientation	43	32	35
Mixed orientation	43	52	49
Status orientation	14	16	16

Table 4. Sociometric choice status of the directors of six farmers' co-operatives

Sociometric choice status*	Decision leaders	Other directors	Total
	%	%	%
.57-1.00	79	8	27
.2550	21	41	36
.0017	_	51	37

No. of persons choosing i.

•CSi = Groupings were made on the basis of natural N-1

breaks in the data.

he was a former businessman with experience in presiding over meetings—experience quite frequently lacking among farmers. As one put it: "He's not one of us, but he knows how to run a meeting." The chairman of the board of the co-operative located in a somewhat volatile political climate was chosen primarily because he had a reputation for fairness, impartiality, and special ability as a peacemaker. In another case the chairman was apparently chosen in a moment of capriciousness, for he had no observable special qualifications. In his own words, "I just wasn't at that meeting to defend myself."

REFERENTS AND REFERENCE GROUPS

Decision making is influenced by a complex of human associations, both within and outside an organization. Certain key figures within the

board were more influential than others in determining decisions and were usually so recognized by their fellow directors. The important role of the manager in the decision-making process has already been mentioned. Individuals and groups from outside the organization are also present, in spirit if not in person, during the deliberations. Their influence is exerted upon the decisions made. In several instances extension personnel had taken an active part in the organization of a co-operative and are still invited to sit in on board meetings in an advisory capacity. Similarly, two of the co-operatives still had strong ties with the local units of a national farm organization. These local units had helped in the organization of the co-operatives, and interlocking directorates fostered the continuance of these ties. In one instance the same individual was the chairman of both boards, and several other members held dual positions. One meeting of the co-operative board was observed to be largely taken up with a discussion of the propriety or impropriety of the co-operative board's endorsing a recent action of the farm organization in a local political squabble.

In many areas of its operation the grain drier was not permitted independent action because of the necessarily close co-ordinating control of the parent organization. However, even in those purely local affairs in which the drier was free to act, it frequently sought the

council of the manager of the parent organization.

One of the co-operatives operated in an area still largely dominated by the local banker, a situation more common in an earlier era. Before making a decision as to whether or not to expand, the board of the co-operative felt obliged to determine the banker's feeling in the matter—this in spite of the fact that he no longer controlled all of the credit sources in the area.

In one hill county where the political forces were very evenly divided between the two major parties, the political implications of any proposed action of the co-operative board were given careful consideration. Several informants mentioned that one of the most important criteria for selecting a new board member was whether or not he would disturb

the delicate political balance of the board.

The directors of the electric co-operative reportedly were unaware of any influence the federal agency might have on the decisions of the local organization. They were, of course, overlooking the formal requirements and regulations to which all borrowers are subject. In one instance, when a new agent from the regional office started applying what they considered to be undue pressure, they interpreted his actions to represent a personal, ego-inflating gesture and, in their words, "told him off."

Less obvious, but perhaps more pervasive, is the influence of family and friends upon the individual board member. In listing the satisfactions they receive from their position, the directors, after mentioning the feeling of "being in the know" concerning the operations of the co-operative, mentioned next in frequency the feeling that they were performing a social service for their friends and neighbors. This, and other types of expressions such as those mentioned in the roleconflict section, lend support to the assertion that primary group associations influence the decisions made by these directors.

The function of a case study, such as this, is primarily to provide tentative interpretations or uncover suggestive leads which in turn provide a point of departure for designing quantitative studies based upon adequate samples. It is hoped that this paper has suggested some of the areas for promising research which are to be found in the study of the decision-making process in farmers' co-operatives.

Farmers' Knowledge: An Appraisal of Stouffer's H-Technique

In three states studies were made in 1956 of farmers' knowledge of old-age and survivors insurance as part of larger studies of farmers and social security. Consideration of the purpose of the study and the properties of various measurement techniques led to the selection of Stouffer's *H*-technique for scaling the knowledge data. Since these data were collected by means of the same instrument, applicability of the *H*-technique is examined in each case. Moreover, for the purpose of comparison, knowledge data from one of the studies were scaled by conventional Guttman-type scale analysis and itemanalysis techniques. The analysis emphasizes certain limitations of the *H*-technique as well as its advantages where applicable.

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IN 1956, the Agricultural Experiment Stations in Kentucky, Maine, and Texas, in co-operation with the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture, conducted studies of the impact on farmers of the 1954 amendments to the Social Security Law. One aspect of the research design, which overall was quite similar for the respective states, involved measuring farmers' knowledge about old-age and survivors insurance (hereafter referred to as OASI). The purpose of the present

The authors are especially indebted to A. Lee Coleman (University of Kentucky), Louis A. Ploch (University of Maine), R. L. Skrabanek (Texas A. & M. College), and Joel Smith (Michigan State University) for critical reading of the manuscript; however, full responsibility for all statements remains with the authors.

Louis A. Ploch and R. L. Skrabanek generously permitted use of data from surveys in Maine and Texas.

report, therefore, is to set forth the pertinent events and considerations in constructing a scale of knowledge about OASI and, insofar as the data permit, to assess several alternative techniques for scaling these data—particularly Stouffer's H-technique.²

Test items were constructed which pertained to distinctive aspects or features of the OASI program and to matters of importance for farmers' participation in the program. Most questions were set up with multiple-choice answer categories; a few, however, required a "yes," "no," or "don't know" response. After being pretested in a Kentucky county, the 17 items were administered as part of a longer schedule to 550 Kentucky farmers located in three counties.³ Later the items were administered to 413 farm operators in Maine and 500 in Texas.

Since a verbal test of knowledge about OASI was to be applied, it was felt that the respondent must have at least a minimum of information about OASI in order for the questions to be meaningful. Since social security (the term most commonly used by farm folk to refer to OASI) is an abstract concept and as a program only recently of importance to farm people, it was anticipated that some might be quite unfamiliar with it. In interviewing, the following two questions were used as screening devices to determine whether to ask the test items: "Have you ever heard anything about the social security old-age and survivors insurance program?" "From what you have heard or read about old-age and survivors insurance, what are the benefits of the program?" Interviewers were instructed to omit the 17 test questions only in case the farmer denied ever hearing about OASI or gave a completely irrelevant response. Those who were thus screened out were given a score of zero, on the assumption that they would have been unable to answer correctly (except by guessing) any of the 17 test items.

MEASUREMENT TECHNIQUES

Selection of a measurement technique was guided by the belief that a measure of knowledge would be most useful to action agencies if a given score represented a definite amount and kind of knowledge, as well as a relative position on a knowledge continuum. This suggested using one of the several scale-analysis techniques. Since Stouffer's *H*-technique seemed to possess some advantages over the more conventional Guttman scaling techniques, it was chosen for the original analysis of the Kentucky data. Because the *H*-technique as yet has

S. A. Stouffer, E. F. Borgatta, D. G. Hays, and A. F. Henry, "A Technique for Improving Cumulative Scales," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVI (1952), 273–291.

[&]quot;The sample for each county was drawn from the "Master Sample" sampling materials of the Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA.

^{*}For a discussion of the advantages of the H-technique, see Stouffer, et al., op. cit.

been little used, an evaluation of the present application seemed appropriate. To aid in this evaluation, the knowledge test data for Maine and Texas were analyzed by the *H*-technique, and the Kentucky data were reanalyzed by means of Guttman-type scale-analysis and itemanalysis techniques.

H-technique: Stouffer's technique involves constructing, from the original items or questions, a second set of "contrived items." Ordinarily a contrived item is based on three original items. Original items are judged as being acceptable for use in contrived items in terms of two criteria: the cutting points of the individual item scores and the total provisional scores of all items must be such that (1) in a fourfold correlation table, neither "error" cell has a frequency "higher than the smaller of the two frequencies in the principal diagonal"; and (2) the sum of the frequencies in the two error cells should not exceed 20 per cent of the total frequency.

With one exception, Stouffer's procedure was closely followed in the present application. Since the possession of correct information was of central interest in this study, responses to all questions were dichotomized as (1) "correct" and (2) "other." The "other" category for each item included persons giving wrong information and those giving no information about the item. Since each item had only one cutting point, for which a test of the correlation of the item with the total scores was made, each item, if acceptable, could be used in only one contrived item. In contrast, attitude items frequently have more than one cutting point that produces an acceptable correlation, and thus each item may be used in several contrived items.

For Kentucky, three of the 17 original items failed to satisfy either criteria. Four more items satisfied the first criterion but failed by a narrow margin to satisfy the second criterion. Thus, in terms of the standards for the *H*-technique, only 10 of the original 17 items were acceptable. The data for Maine gave the same results. In Texas, however, 14 of the original items were acceptable.

Two further rules govern the selection of "acceptable" original items for contrived items: (1) the three original items from which a new item is contrived should be close together⁸ in terms of the total correct or positive frequencies; and (2) the contrived items should divide the population into approximately equal knowledge-score categories.

[&]quot;Ibid.

[&]quot;Ibid.

In each case, the sum of the frequencies in the error cells was less than 25 per cent of the total frequency.

^{*}Stouffer et al., op. cit., do not specify how close together in total frequency the original items should be. However, the distance should be minimal, since there appears to be a positive relationship between divergence in total frequency of original items and the frequency of errors in reproducibility.

Because of the limited number of original items that satisfied both sets of criteria and the particular distribution or scatter of acceptable items, it was not possible to construct as many as three contrived items for any state without making some compromises in the rules. Stouffer suggests, however, that it is possible to use an occasional item which has more than 20 per cent error, and to use two rather than three original items for contrived items at the ends of the scale. On this basis, a three-item *H*-scale can be formed for the Kentucky and Texas data, but not for Maine. In the case of Maine, not even two contrived items can be formed which meet the various conditions.

After scoring each person on each contrived item, the response patterns were tabulated (Table 1). For Kentucky, 7.8 per cent of the individuals fell in the four error-scale patterns, and not more than 4 per cent fell in any one. For Texas, only 7.6 per cent of the respondents fell in these scale patterns, but 5.4 per cent fell in one error pattern, which suggests the presence of an extraneous dimension.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of Kentucky and Texas respondents by contrived item-response pattern

Contrived item-response pattern*												Kentucky $(\mathcal{N}^{\dagger} = 550)$	$Texas (\mathcal{N}^{\dagger} = 500)$		
All	٠										۰			100.0	100.0
Perfect scal	ep	att	ern	s:											
+++	-				۰				٠	0	9		۰	25.3	19.0
-++		0	0	0						0				31.6	36.2
+														14.9	8.4
														20.4	28.8
Error patter	rns.														
-+-		٠					0			0		0		3.1	5.4
++-														0.7	1.4
+ -+														4.0	0.6
+								0		0		0	0	_	0.2

A plus (+) indicates that two of the original items comprising the contrived item were answered correctly, and a minus (-) indicates that fewer than two were answered correctly.

 $\dagger N =$ number of respondents.

The coefficients of reproducibility are 0.974 for Kentucky and 0.975 for Texas. Of course, the fact that the scales include only three contrived items contributes to their high reproducibility. Nevertheless, the high reproducibilities and the relatively small percentage of respond-

ents falling in error-scale patterns suggest that the necessity of doing some violence to the proposed standards has not made the *H*-technique inapplicable in this instance.

Guttman scale analysis of the Kentucky data: To provide a basis for comparison, 13 of the 17 original items were selected for a Guttmantype scale analysis. The items were selected to represent the range of difficulty and without reference to which ones were satisfactory or unsatisfactory for the H-technique. Of the 13 items, 11 could be arranged in an acceptable scale pattern; the coefficient of reproducibility was 0.913. Fifty-nine per cent of the 550 cases fell into error-scale patterns, but not more than 3 per cent fell in any one. Three items which approximated the quartiles in the range of difficulty were then selected from the 11-item scale for separate scale analysis, Reproducibility for the three-item scale was 0.956, and 12.4 per cent of the cases fell into the four error-scale patterns. Six per cent of the cases were in one error pattern. In terms of the usual standards for straight scale analysis, the statistics for the 11-item scale are within acceptable limits, while those for the three-item scale are deficient only in the somewhat large frequency in the one error pattern.

Item analysis of the Kentucky data: For item analysis, the point biserial correlation (r_{pbi}) of each item with the provisional total score of all items was estimated. These item-total correlations were then corrected for spurious overlap. For the 17 original items, the corrected point biserial coefficients range from 0.17 to 0.70. On the basis of the size of the coefficients and the distribution of items over the range of difficulty, 11 original items were selected for a knowledge scale (hereafter referred to as the *I*-scale). Each item was assigned an optimum weight, and a total knowledge score was computed for each respondent.

EVALUATION

Concerning the rules for applying the H-technique: Conventional scale-analysis techniques have been subjected to heavy criticism for the subjective judgments involved in selecting items, combining response categories, ranking respondents, and the like. The H-technique, however, involves somewhat less dependence upon subjective judgment in decisions as to item cutting points.

In comparison with scale analysis and the *H*-technique, item-analysis procedures are often assumed to be much more rigorous and standardized. While it is perhaps true that conventional item-analysis procedures involve more extensive statistical analysis of the items, the tech-

^ePoint biserial correlations, corrected r_{pbi} 's and the weights for each item were estimated using *abac*'s shown in J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods* (2d ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), pp. 429, 446; "The Correlation of an Item with a Composite of the Remaining Items," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, XIII (1953), 87–93.

nician still must decide what items are to be included in the original schedule. Moreover, after statistical analysis of the items for difficulty¹⁰ and item-total correlation, the analyst must decide (1) what specific criteria are to be used in selecting "good" items, (2) whether or not all the "good" items are to be used, and (3) if not, which particular ones shall be used.

Experience with the OASI knowledge data suggests that more thought needs to be given to procedures for testing items for acceptability when the provisional-score distribution departs markedly from normality. In the present case, for example, 13, 8, and 23 per cent of the respondents in the Kentucky, Maine, and Texas samples, respectively, were scored as having no knowledge of the content in question. Since they are a sizeable group and their responses to each item are perfectly reproducible, the items for which a high percentage of the remaining respondents gave "correct" answers are almost automatically acceptable for *H*-technique scaling. Actually this is a reflection of a rather general problem in knowledge measurement, related to whether knowledge of the particular content is widespread or limited.

Further ramifications of the unusual distribution of total scores are revealed by a comparison of r_{pbi} and H-technique item acceptability. It is a curious fact that for the most part items judged unsatisfactory or only partially satisfactory by H-technique procedures had larger item-to-total-score corrected point biserial correlations than satisfactory items. Apparently the unusual distribution contributed, per se, to low point biserial correlations for many of the easier items while contributing to their acceptability for H-scale purposes, thus limiting the usefulness of both techniques.¹²

The different results point to the contrasting approaches in itemanalysis and scaling techniques. Insofar as reproducibility is of prime importance in test construction, the *H*-technique should give good results. However, despite earlier claims of scaling proponents, it seems that satisfactory reproducibility frequently may be obtained in the absence of univocity. To the extent that this occurs, the validity of the scale also is unknown. Conventional item-analysis techniques utilize a different approach to judging test validity and ignore the problem of reproducibility. Future developments may provide a guide whereby

have been obtained if these cases had been omitted.

¹⁸The conclusion reached here is in line with that by Guilford, op. cit., p. 461. Cf.

A. F. Henry and E. F. Borgatta, "A Consideration of Some Problems of Content Identification in Scaling," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (1956–1957), 457–469.

¹⁰The statistical analysis of item difficulty was not performed in this case.

³³Conventional scale-analysis techniques are subject to the same shortcoming.
³³In this particular case, an alternative would have been to omit the persons with no knowledge of OASI from the various scale analyses. But this would have limited the utility of the scales for the task at hand, and it could not have been justified in terms of the definition of the population. It is possible that different results would

one may better judge the violence being done to univocity and validity while in quest of reproducibility.

Validity: In the case of the H-scale and the Guttman scales, scalability itself provides a measure of validity. One test of the validity of the I-scale is the association of test scores with the provisional scores, and, for purposes of comparison, the association of the other scale scores with the provisional scores was also computed. For the computations, cutting points approximately at the quartiles were used for the I-scale and provisional scale. The measure of association used was gamma, which is appropriate where there are two variables, symmetrically related, for which no underlying continuum is of interest but for which directed ordering is of interest.

For the Kentucky sample, the association (gamma) between the provisional scores and the scores on each of the other scales is presented in Table 2. Since the associations for the *H*-scale and the *I*-scale exceed 0.90, it would appear that, in terms of this test of validity, there is little to choose between these two scales. The relatively low association (0.830) between the provisional score and the three-item Guttman scale suggests that the latter is a less satisfactory measure of knowledge of OASI. As expected, the interassociations among the three short scales are somewhat lower than that of each scale with the provisional score. The three-item and *I*-scales are associated with the *H*-scale at about the

Table 2. Coefficients of association (gamma*) among selected measures of Kentucky farmers' knowledge of OASI

	Measure Provisional 3-item											
Measure	Provisional score	H-scale	3-item Guttman scale	I-scale								
Provisional score		.922	.830	.971								
H-scale	.922	-	.887	.869								
Three-item Guttman score	.830	.887		.761								
<i>I</i> -scale	.971	.869	.761	_								

*The following properties of gamma are pertinent:

(a) Gamma is plus 1 (+1) if the population is concentrated in an upper-left to lower-right diagonal. Gamma is minus 1 (-1) if the population is concentrated in a lower-left to upper-right diagonal.

(b) Gamma is zero (0) in the case of independence, but the converse need not hold except in the 2-by-2 case.

¹⁶Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications," Journal of the American Statistical Association, XLIX (1954), 732-764. same level, but the association between the three-item scale and the *I*-scale is much lower.¹⁵ Further investigation would be needed to determine whether or not this indicates that different components in the total score are being measured.

Utility: Since, for purposes of data analysis, an approximately equal division of respondents in knowledge-score categories is desired, the extent of success in this regard provides a basis for comparing the three scales. The percentage distributions of Kentucky respondents by scale score and by I-scale category are shown in Table 3. It can be seen that the best results were obtained with the I-scale. It is likely that this generally would be true, owing to the greater flexibility provided by the I-scale for the selection of cutting points over the range of scores. Least success was obtained in this instance with the H-scale; but, in studies which offer greater opportunity in the selection of items for scaling purposes, better results likely would be obtained.

Table 3. Percentage distributions of Kentucky farmers for the three knowledge scales

Sca	le cate	go	ry	H-scale	3-item Guttman scale	I-scale			
							%	%	%
All Farmers							100	100	100
Least knowledge	I				*		24	26	25
-	II		0				15	18	25
	III	q		0			31	28	28
Most knowledge	IV				0		30	28	22

As noted earlier, a prime consideration in the choice of the *H*-technique was the advantage of reproducibility. Within the limits specified by their respective coefficients of reproducibility, the *H*-scale and the three-item scale possess this advantage, which the *I*-scale lacks. The reproducibility for the *H*-scale is somewhat greater than that of the three-item scale, ¹⁶ as was expected and as was shown earlier. Moreover,

²⁸For a similar analysis in a different area of content, see J. Kamenetzky, George Burgess, and Thomas Rowan, "The Relative Effectiveness of Four Attitude Assessment Techniques in Predicting a Criterion," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, XVI (1956), 187–194. High intercorrelation of the measures also was found.

¹⁸Since the reproducibility of scale scores is related to the number of items in the scale, the three-item rather than the 11-item scale is used in comparisons with the *H*-scale.

it is likely that the comparative advantage of the *H*-scale would have been greater if all the original items had completely met the standards.¹⁷ But, as has been demonstrated, the advantage of reproducibility is often gained at some cost in generality of the scale. In the present case, many of the more difficult items could not be used in the *H*-scale because they did not correlate satisfactorily with the provisional scores. The technician must decide whether or not the advantage of reproducibility outweighs the loss in generality of the scale.

Time and equipment needed for computations are another important aspect of utility. Each technique required only scoring masks, a calculator, and an IBM counter-sorter. Although records of the time involved were not kept, it appears that, once moderate proficiency has been acquired in the use of each technique, one has little advantage over the other. However, such comparative advantages as exist appear to favor conventional item analysis, *H*-technique, and straight scale analysis (using a modified version of the Cornell or Rutgers techniques), in that order. The advantage of the *H*-technique over conventional scale analysis results principally from the fact that under the former the IBM counter-sorter can handle somewhat more of the work load when there are many items. For persons not already skilled in the use of the three techniques, it is probable that the comparative advantage of each technique in the order given above would be greater.

A major objective in obtaining a measure of farmers' knowledge of OASI was to use this measure as a control variable in the analysis of participation in the OASI program. Measures of association were therefore computed, for the purpose of assessing which scale of knowledge about OASI provided the best basis for predicting participation in the OASI program. The measure of association used is λ b, which is appropriate when there is a cross-classification of two factors with no underlying continua or natural ordering of interest; yet it is desirable to assume that one classification has some precedence or priority over the other.

From Table 4, it is apparent that the best prediction of participation by Kentucky farmers in the OASI program can be obtained by using the provisional scores. Only slight advantage can be attributed to the provisional scores, however; and for various reasons a scale of shorter length might be desired. So far as the three short scales are concerned, these data do not suggest that any one has marked superiority. A choice, therefore, should be made in terms of the other special advantages and/or disadvantages of each scale for the problem at hand.¹⁹

¹⁷See Stouffer et al., op. cit.

¹⁸Goodman and Kruskal, op. cit.

¹⁹Kamenetzky, Burgess, and Rowan, op. cit., obtained similar results in a study of attitudinal content where verbal measures of attitudes were involved.

Table 4. Coefficients of association (λb^*) between measures of knowledge of OASI and participation in the OASI program

Measure of kn	ow	led	lge	0	f C)A	SI		Coefficient of association (λb) with OASI participation
Provisional score									.259
H-scale									.231
I-scale			6						.227
3-item Guttman scale									.216

•Some important properties of λb are:

(a) λb is indeterminate if, and only if, the population lies in one column.

(b) Otherwise the value of λb is between 0 and 1, inclusive.

(c) λb is 0 if, and only if, knowledge of one classification is of no help in predicting the other classification.

(d) λb is 1, if and only if, knowledge of an individual class completely specifies the other class.

CONCLUSION

Which one of the several item-analysis or scale-analysis techniques one chooses must depend largely upon the nature of the problem. Unless reproducibility is an important objective, the conclusion from the present study is that one of the item-analysis techniques will yield the best results. If, as in this study, reproducibility is an important consideration, then the choice lies between a conventional scale-analysis technique and the *H*-technique. The present research supports the conclusion that when reproducibility, validity, and utility are the criteria, the *H*-scale is the most satisfactory—even when it is necessary to make minor violations of the proposed standards for item acceptability.

Roles of the Extension Subject-Matter Specialist

The extension specialist occupies a key position in the land-grant college communication system, serving as a connecting link between research and extension work. This paper reports the findings of a study which focused on the role of extension specialists as conceived by themselves and the perceptions of role expectations held by researchers, extension administrators, and county agents. Intensive tape recorded interviews were held with 53 Pennsylvania extension subject-matter specialists. Little evidence was found that specialists define their job as communicators of problems to the researcher; predominant interest is in communicating knowledge of subject matter to counties. Specialists perceive alter groups as having differential role expectations but are oriented primarily to county agents and are motivated to conform to their expectations. The value orientation of the extension system aids in understanding these findings.

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THE extension specialist occupies a position in which "his primary job is to serve as a connecting link between the college and experiment station and the county staff."

Of the slightly more than 14,000 employees in the Cooperative Extension Service throughout the United States, over 2,000 are specialists. The specialists serve a staff function. They are administratively responsible to the extension director or to one of his subordinates, such as an associate director or home economics leader. Generally the resident departments of the College of Agriculture assist in selecting the specialists, and the specialists are responsible to their respective departments for the subject matter they disseminate.²

Certain organizational problems related to the job of the specialist have been revealed by previous studies: (1) relationship of the special-

2Ibid., pp. 21, 22.

^{*}Journal Series Paper No. 2221, Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station.

10 The Extension Specialists," report of a workshop held at State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington, October 21-31, 1947.

ist to the USDA; (2) political support given to specialists by organizations interested in their work and pressures from within and outside the college for more specialists; (3) specialists usurping the functions of the county agent by direct teaching; and (4) the relationship of the specialist to his subject-matter department and to his administrative head.

It has been stressed that

in order to render the maximum service possible, the work of all three divisions of the college [research, teaching, and extension] must be effectively coordinated with each division supplementing and buttressing the efforts of the other. All must work together harmoniously as members of one team with a common objective but with related fields of specialization...Close and effective liaison between extension workers and research workers is necessary at all times. This is essential to insure that important new research findings may be relayed effectively, and without loss of valuable time, to those who can use these facts in their day-to-day activities...[Extension agents are in a position] to relay to the experiment station practical problems facing farmers which would seem to call for additional research.

If this goal is to be realized, the specialist must operate in a highly integrated social system relaying messages both from the college to the county, and from the county to the College.

This paper reports on a study of the subject-matter specialist and his interaction with other positions, namely, the researcher, extension administrator, and county agent.

The specific objectives are (1) to determine the extension specialist's self-conception of his job, (2) to determine the specialist's perception of role expectations held by researchers, administrators, and county staff, (3) to determine the barriers which hinder fulfillment of these expectations, and (4) to ascertain group orientations of specialists in role performance.

An understanding of the position of a specialist in the Cooperative Extension Service should provide some understanding of the specialist who operates in other similar social systems having a grass-roots ideology.

In an early study, Reid and Wilson found that the functions of subject-matter specialists may be divided into planning functions, training functions, direct teaching, and evaluating extension methods.⁴

According to studies in Iowa,⁵ Florida, and Louisiana,⁶ specialists emphasize these major functions: (1) keeping county agents informed

³USDA and Assn. of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. Joint Committee Report on Extension Program Policies and Goals, Washington, D.C., August, 1948, p. 30.

⁴T. Roy Reid and M. C. Wilson, Functions and Activities of State Extension Specialists (USDA Ext. Serv. Cir. 189, 1933).

⁶Neil Raudabaugh, Functions of Extension Specialists (Iowa State College Agr. Ext. Serv. Bull. ST 383; Ames, April, 1952).

⁶M. O. Watkins, "The Role of the Agricultural Extension Specialist in the Land-Grant College" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955).

on completed research and research in progress, (2) transmitting problems to research workers, (3) providing county agents with teaching materials, (4) assisting the county staff and county organizations with program planning and, (5) assisting the county staff in the effective use of teaching methods. Roles, such as serving as a "trouble-shooter" for the county staff, evaluation, and direct teaching were accorded less importance. Iowa specialists felt they would like to spend more time preparing teaching materials, keeping county staff posted, and keeping themselves up-to-date; they wanted to spend less time in direct teaching of farmers and homemakers and performing service activities. Little time was actually spent in formal evaluation.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In recent years there has been an increasing tendency to understand organizational structure and function through the application of role theory to the study of various positions. For example, Wilkening has developed a role theory framework for analyzing the role of county extension agents. Durfee has used role theory to study the relationships between the supervisory staff in the Extension Service and the county agents. Blizzard investigated the roles played by Protestant ministers. Bidwell made use of role theory in studying the administrative structure in the public school. Parsons has suggested that the structure of organizations may be analyzed from the point of view of the organizational culture and its institutionalized manifestations or from the point of view of the suborganization roles which participate in the functioning of the total organization.

The present study is concerned with the latter point of view, specifically with the system of roles which provide the behavioral definitions of acceptable job behaviors by staff members. The suborganization, in the cooperative extension system, consists of four general positions: the administrators, the specialists, the researcher, and the county staff. In this study, members of the county staff, administrators, and researchers are perceived as *alter* groups, who define the behavior appropriate to the specialists. The concept of role expectations has been developed as a part of role theory. Parsons, for example, says that in the case of given actor "ego" there is soon built up a system of expectations relative

to a given other "alter."

⁷E. A. Wilkening, Roles of County Extension Agents (Preliminary Report No. 2; Madison, Wis.: Dept. of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin, 1956).

*A. Durfee, "Expectations Held toward the Extension Supervisor's Role" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1956).

*Samuel W. Blizzard, "The Roles of the Rural Parish Minister, the Protestant Seminaries, and the Sciences of Social Behavior," Religious Education, Nov.-Dec., 1955, pp. 1-10.

³⁰Charles E. Bidwell, "The Administrative Role and Satisfaction in Teaching," Journal of Educational Sociology, Sept., 1955, pp. 41-47. This paper examines the hypothesis that the specialist occupies a position with considerable role ambiguity, but because of the nature of the extension system, his major reference group is the county staff, and therefore he is motivated to conform to their expectations.

METHODOLOGY

Pennsylvania had about four hundred extension staff members in 1956 of which 76 were subject-matter specialists; information and 4-H specialists were not included. Tape-recorded personal interviews were held with 53 subject-matter specialists who had been on the extension staff for two or more years. An interview guide was used as the interviewing instrument. Questions were of the open-end free-response type. Each interview required about two hours. At the end of the tape-recorded interview, specialists filled out a schedule of structured forced-answer questions. Check-list items were included pertaining to job satisfaction and 20 roles which specialists rated according to felt importance, enjoyment, self-adequacy, and time desired for performance.

Categories were developed to provide order to the data obtained by the free-response questions. Three coders, independently, coded the data. Where disagreement existed, a final decision was made by the person in charge of the project. Disagreement was relatively minor on the questions concerning self-image and perception of expectations of others, but was as high as 20 per cent on the question of orientations to various groups.¹¹

Of the 53 specialists interviewed, 46 were agricultural subject-matter specialists and 7 were home economics specialists; 14 had county experience. Six had doctorates, 26 master's degrees, and 21 had less than a master's degree. In Pennsylvania, there are 18 subject-matter sections with offices located contiguous to their respective resident departments (with the exception of home economics). Each of the sections has a section head, who plays a dual role as an administrator and as a subject-matter specialist. However, little emphasis is given to the administrative role. Formally, extension and resident staffs are separate.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Functional Roles: Specialists were asked what they saw as their job. The responses to this open-end question were put into 11 categories. Seventy-one per cent said they were liaison communicators; that is, they were connecting links between the college and the county staff (Table 1). They were usually thinking of the communications as being in one direction, from the researcher to the county, with little emphasis on communicating problems to the researcher. A typical reply was, "The

³¹Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952).

Table 1. Number and percentage of 53 Pennsylvania extension specialists playing specific functional roles, 1956

Role													Number	Per cent*
Liaison-communicator												38	71	
Consultant .													26	49
Student													21	40
Teacher													21	40
Promoter													19	36
Interpreter .								۰			٠		17	32
Writer													8	15
Technical expert								7	13					
Program organ													7	13
Administrator													6	11
Evaluator													2	4

Percentages add up to more than 100 because each specialist plays more than one role.

role of an extension specialist basically is to take the results of research out over the state to farmers, so they can better their lot."

About one-half of the specialists mentioned the role of consultant to both the county staff as well as people and organizations. Specialists who envisioned themselves as consultants felt it was their duty to "assist agents with the things that they are not able to handle themselves," or "to try and help the farmer in whatever field he is working."

About 40 per cent saw themselves as playing the role of student. These specialists felt it was important to "keep-up-to-date on all new

information."

Forty per cent said they were teachers, using several different methods of presenting their program. The teacher role was manifested in such statements as "I presume my job is mainly training the county agents," or "we train local leaders," or "we just teach the county agents how to use the information for the farmers."

Thirty-six per cent felt a specialist was a promoter or influencer. "It's his job to sell his program" was a typical response, or "a specialist's job is to stimulate interest in these county workers in particular fields."

Thirty-two per cent said they played the role of an interpreter "converting research into usable form for rural and urban people."

Fifteen per cent saw themselves as writers, which is a specific method of carrying out several previously mentioned roles. Thirteen per cent said they were technical experts who "had all the latest information at their fingertips," or "were recognized as authorities." Thirteen per

cent said a specialist is a program organizer and developer, which embraces the role of program planning. This role applies primarily to helping county staffs in program planning. Eleven per cent said they were administrators. These were primarily the specialists who also acted as section heads. Only 4 per cent gave reference to their job as an evaluator. If the extension program includes the three phases of program planning, program execution, and program evaluation, it is evident that these specialists perceived their job almost entirely in the area of program execution.

Ratings of twenty specific roles

Specialists also rated various aspects of 20 specific roles. They responded on how important they felt each role was, how much they enjoyed playing the role, how adequate they felt in performing the role, and whether they want to spend more or less time performing the role. Four categories were used in ratings of importance and feeling of adequacy; three were used for feeling of enjoyment and amount of time desired. Quantitative scores were developed for each role by assigning arbitrary weights to each rating. For example, extremely important was given 3; very important, 2; important, 1; not important, 0. This permitted the roles to be ranked according to average scores for all specialists.

Importance of roles gives an indication of normative roles, that is, what roles should be performed even though they might not be performed now. Measure of enjoyment relates to role gratification or from what roles they obtain satisfaction. How well they feel qualified to play the role gives some indication of self adequacy. Whether they desire to spend more time, less, or about the same, in playing the roles probably includes some elements of importance, enjoyment, and feeling of adequacy.

Normative Roles: Acting as a student was rated as the most important role for a specialist to perform. Other important roles in rank order were keeping county staff up to date on subject matter, being a demonstrator or public speaker, being consultant to the county staff, and interpreting research results for other people (Table 2).

Roles such as performing office details, assisting county with evaluation and methods, training local leaders, evaluating own program, direct teaching of farmers and homemakers, and advising research people on research needs were rated relatively low in order of importance. It is evident that consultant to county staff is generally restricted to subject matter, rather than methods. With the exception of direct teaching, the roles considered important form a pattern that is somewhat similar to the roles they actually perform. Direct comparison was impossible because of different categories of roles developed from the free-response questions and the ones used in the structured schedule.

Table 2. Rank order of 20 specific roles by felt importance, enjoyment, adequacy, and time aspect for 53 Pennsylvania extension specialists, 1956

Role	Impor- tance	Enjoy- ment	Ade- quacy	Time aspect	
Acting as student	1	5	4	1	
Keeping county staff up-to-date on					
subject matter	2	3	3	4	
Demonstrator or public speaker	3	7	7	18	
Consultant to county staff	4	1*	1	5	
Interpreting research results for					
other people	5	1*	11	8	
Writing leaflets, bulletins, etc.	6	16	9	3	
Public relations person	7	10	17	16	
Preparing teaching materials	8	11	10	2	
Developing state-wide program	9	8	12	7	
Administrator	10	14	15	9	
Program planning and development					
with other specialists	11	12	8	10	
Assisting county staff with program					
planning	12	13	18	6	
Advising research people on					
research needs	13	15	5	12	
Direct teacher of farmers, home-				-	
makers	14	4	2	17	
Evaluating own program	15	18	19	11	
Trainer of local leaders	16	6	6	13	
Keeping county staff up-to-date on					
methods	17	9	16	14	
Advising administrators of problems	18	17	14	19	
Assisting county with evaluation	19	20	20	15	
Performing office details	20	19	13	20	

^{*}Two items were tied for first.

Gratification Roles: Roles most enjoyed were consultant to county staff and interpreting research results for other people. However, interpreting evidently is enjoyed primarily on a face-to-face basis because writing leaflets and bulletins was rated low on enjoyment, whereas speaking and direct teaching were very high. Also high in enjoyment were keeping county staff up-to-date on subject matter, acting as a

student, and training local leaders. Roles which were relatively low in enjoyment were performing office details, assisting county with evaluation, evaluating own program, and advising administrators of problems. In the open-end questions many specialists emphasized the motivation they received from personal contact with people who were really interested in their speciality and the dislike they had for office work and writing.

Role Adequacy: Specialists felt most adequate in performing the consultant role, in the direct teaching of farmers and homemakers, and in keeping county staff up-to-date on subject matter. They felt least adequate in assisting the county with evaluation, evaluating their own program, assisting the county with program planning, and the public relations role.

Time Aspect: Specialists would like to spend more time, first, as students, followed in order by preparing teaching materials, writing leaflets, bulletins, and the like, and keeping the county staff up-to-date on subject matter. They rated the following roles low on spending more time: performing office details, advising administrators of problems, demonstrating or public speaking, and direct teaching of farmers and homemakers.

Certain patterns in these findings are in substantial agreement with studies of specialists in Iowa, Florida, and Louisiana. Specialists evidently feel pressure to keep themselves up-to-date. They do not attach much importance or feel very adequate in evaluating their own programs or helping counties with evaluation. They are primarily motivated and consider it extremely important to keep county staffs up on subject matter—less concern is expressed for methods. Specialists rated direct teaching of local people low in importance and time they should allot to it, but they enjoy it and feel adequate in doing it. These specialists did not attach much importance to communicating problems to the researcher, nor do they function in that role to any great extent. However, they feel adequate to perform that role. Separation of extension and research into two separate organizations probably helps to explain the low level of communication.

Perceptions of expectations of researchers, administrators, and county staff

Researchers: When asked what they thought the research people expected them to do as specialists, 60 per cent said to perform the role of liaison communicator, that is, to communicate the results of research to the county (Table 3). Another 30 per cent of the specialists did not know what researchers expected; 15 per cent said they thought the researchers expected them to be consultants. In this sense, consulting was primarily to help the researcher: "They expect us to bring them suggestions for research." Nine per cent felt researchers expected them

to be interpreters, and 11 per cent, promoters. By the interpreter role they meant they were to put research information into the language of the farmer, or, as another specialist said, "sift the research results and put them in a pill that can be easily taken by the individual." Specialists who felt researchers expected them to be promoters took the point of view that researchers wanted specialists to promote them and their work. One informant said, "Research people expect me to give credit for all research and use it whether I believe it or not."

Table 3. Perceptions of expectations of researchers, administrators, and county staff by 53 Pennsylvania extension specialists, 1956

Role		Research	Adminis- tration	County staff
		%	%	%
Student	4	. 0	9	9
Administrator	٠	. 0	6	2
Liaison-communicator			21	38
Program organizer and develope	er	. 2	15	13
Promoter		. 11	28	19
Consultant		. 15	19	60
Writer			4	9
Evaluator			0	2
Interpreter			0	4
Teacher			6	18
Technical expert			15	11
Don't know			25	2

When asked what difficulties they had in fulfilling expectations of researchers, about one-fourth said that they had no difficulties (Table 4). The barrier mentioned most often was lack of resources, by 40 per cent. They meant, primarily, inadequate or not enough research results were available. This category is illustrated by the response, "I think we could have research on a lot of new problems." The next most often mentioned was inadequate communications between researchers and specialists, with such comments as "Too few conferences or meetings involving research and extension."

Interpersonal relationships were mentioned by 13 per cent, meaning primarily personality clashes. Inadequacy of researcher was mentioned by 11 per cent. This category subsumed statements about research being too technical and not practical and too much time lag between research findings and reporting the results.

Table 4. Difficulties of 53 Pennsylvania extension specialists in fulfilling expectations of researchers, administrators, and county staff, 1956

Difficulties	Research	Adminis- tration	County staff
	%	%	%
No difficulties	26	53	17
Interpersonal relationships	13	2	9
Inadequate communications	28	30	21
Inadequacies of researchers, adminis-			
trators, or county staff	11	4	42
Lack of resources	40	17	26

Administrators: Specialists felt administrators expect them to play several roles, the one most often mentioned being promoter, by 28 per cent. Responses included in this category pertained to being a good public relations person for the University, or promoting the specialist's program as one phase of extension.

One-fourth did not know what administrators expected of them. Twenty-one per cent thought administrators expected them to be liaison communicators, that is, to keep the county agent and farmers informed. Nineteen per cent felt administrators wanted them to play the consultant role by assisting, advising, and helping county agents and farmers on particular problems. Fifteen per cent felt they were to be technical experts, that is, to keep up-to-date on their subject matter. Fifteen per cent felt they were to be program organizers, whereby they would plan and develop a program that would be most helpful to the counties.

About one-half of the specialists reported no difficulties in meeting expectations of administrators. Thirty per cent mentioned inadequate communications between themselves and administrators. By this they meant they did not have close enough contact with the administrators. For example, one informant said, "I have felt at a loss ever since I was in extension, as to whether I am doing the job I was supposed to do. If I'm not, how can I improve?" Seventeen per cent said the barrier to fulfilling administrators' expectations was lack of resources, meaning primarily, inadequacy of office space, secretarial help, supplies, or travel money. Only 4 per cent mentioned inadequacies of the administrators and 2 per cent interpersonal relationships.

County Staff: Specialists were asked what they thought the county staff members expected of them. The role mentioned most often was that of consultant, by 60 per cent. Thirty-eight per cent said the county

staff expected them to be liaison communicators; 19 per cent felt the county staff expected them to be promoters, 18 per cent as teachers, demonstrators, or speakers; and only 2 per cent did not know what the

county staff expected.

When asked what difficulties they had in fulfilling expectations of the county staff, only 17 per cent said that they had no difficulty. The barrier most often mentioned was the inadequacies of the county staff, including such items as lack of interest on the part of the county worker in the specialist's subject-matter area, lack of planning by the county staff on how best to use a specialist when he was in the county, and lack of adequate training of the county staff.

Twenty-six per cent said lack of resources kept them from fulfilling expectations of the county staff, meaning such things as not having time, equipment, or research results to do the expected job. Twenty-one per cent said inadequate communications was a barrier, meaning lack of information on what the county staff really wanted when the specialist went into the county. Some specialists felt a difficulty in getting into some counties. Nine per cent mentioned problems of interpersonal relationships with the county staff.

Job orientations

By an over-all analysis of the answers to the free-response questions, specialists were classified on degree of orientation toward five groups, in and outside extension work. Specialists were rated on three degrees

of orientation to these groups: low, medium, high.

These groups were assumed to be job reference groups. Specialists were rated on the intensity with which, in planning and carrying out their duties, these groups influenced their thinking, attitudes, and behavior. The five groups were county agents, administrators, researchers, local people, and organizations, either state-wide or county. Quantitative scores for each group were developed by giving weights of 1 for low, 2 for medium, and 3 for high. The group to which specialists were most oriented was the county staff, followed in order by local people, organizations, researchers, and administrators (Table 5).

SUMMARY

These specialists had a self-image of being primarily liaison communicators between the University and the county. The methods used to communicate information were primarily on a face-to-face basis rather than by mass media. While the theory of extension organization holds that specialists are key communication links between the county and the college, communication was primarily in one direction, from the college to the county, rather than vice versa.

Inadequate evidence is available on the precise sources of infor-

Table 5. Job orientations of 53 Pennsylvania extension specialists toward administrators, researchers, county staff, local people, and organizations, 1956

Degree of orientation	Adminis- trators	Re- searchers	County agents	Local people	Organiza- tions
	%	%	%	%	%
Low	68	42	4	34	38
Medium	28	49	41	38	49
High	4	9	55	28	13
Total Orientation	100	100	100	100	100
score values	1.4	1.7	2.5	1.9	1.8

mation the specialist uses to keep feeding this pipeline to the county staff. Cursory data collected point to miscellaneous sources such as the following: the specialist's own everyday experiences in going from one county to another in which he acts as an intercounty communicator; articles in trade magazines; research data, and so on. In fact, the specialist doesn't feel very adequate in the role of interpreting research results for the people. The specialists expressed considerable anxiety about the application of results from specific research projects to general problems. They evidently feel pressure to keep up-to-date, however, on all things in their field.

It is also evident that they are predominantly subject-matter oriented, rather than methods oriented. They see little importance in, nor do they enjoy, performing tasks related to administration, such as filling out reports, advising administrators, and evaluating programs.

The specialist perceives his *alter* groups as having differential role expectations. He seems to view the expectations of each group in line with the vested interests of the group. No assessment was made on the extent to which these expectations conflict with one another. Evidence of conflict was found by Wilkening in Wisconsin, where some county agents felt specialists were trying to superimpose their program upon the county without the consent of the county staff. The Pennsylvania specialists said administrators expect them to promote their programs themselves. Conflict is possibly mitigated in the role-set of the specialist by two mechanisms suggested by Merton: (1) differing intensity of role involvement among the specialists and researchers and administrators, and (2) differences in the power of those involved in the role-set. The specialists feel isolated from the administrators and do not

¹²Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 371-372.

have adequate communication with them to permit self-evaluation. Specialists were most oriented to the county staff and least oriented to administrators.

CONCLUSIONS

The Cooperative Extension Service does not fit the pattern of the formally organized bureaucracy with a hierarchy of offices in which channels of authority are clearly defined and offices have subordinate-superordinate relationships. In general, the specialist feels the administrator is his "boss," but directions are given by the county staff. In fact, it would seem that the specialist occupies a dysfunctional position, caught between the expectations of the administrator and county staff, both of whom exercise authority over the specialist, but in a different manner.

The administrator is a source of reward for the specialist, concerning raises in rank and salary. But the county staff is also a source of reward because the specialist gets into a county only by invitation of the county staff. If he doesn't have his program accepted by the counties, he has no program. Extension administrators don't require the county agents to adopt the specialist's program. The degree to which a specialist gets his program accepted by the counties determines to a considerable extent his evaluation by administrators. Hence, the specialist uses many methods to promote his program and gain acceptance by counties. One of the most important techniques is to sell himself. The specialists interviewed ranked high the ability to get along with others. When asked what characteristics a specialist should have, they were of the general opinion that skill in interpersonal relationships was as important as knowledge of the respective subject-matter field. Influence on an informal level is undoubtedly an important part of the power structure in extension work.

A democratic grass-roots doctrine which espouses participation of the local people in program planning and execution has unanticipated consequences for the position of the specialist. Selznick has aptly analyzed the dilemmas between administration and the grass-roots doctrine in the TVA organization.¹³ He argues that the use of the grass-roots doctrine approach by the TVA was a legitimizing means for establishing a new organization. Whether the Extension Service used the grass-roots ideology as a means of getting established is not relevant. The important point is that since extension workers use the grass-roots ideology, the Extension Service as an organization must adjust to the local areas in which it operates. The county units have developed autonomous units of power by gaining support of legitimate, organized groups, influential individuals, and extension's own sponsored groups,

¹⁸Philip Selznick, "Dilemmas of Leadership and Democratic Planning," Studies in Leadership, ed. by Alvin Gouldner (New York: Harper, 1950), pp. 560-591. such as the Dairy Herd Improvement Association, artificial breeders, and the like. Preiss' study in Michigan has analyzed resources of authority and power built up by the local county agent.¹⁴ Hence, the administration in extension must realistically deal with the consequences of this abstract doctrine, the grass-roots approach. It seems fairly difficult for extension administrators either to order the specialists to carry out any specific duties or to provide formal sanctions of authority in having specialists' programs accepted, and evidently the specialists realize this, as is manifested by their low degree of orientation to the administrators. Specialists can develop ties with county staff or with organizations that can exert power and influence on the administration. How well the specialist is doing is often judged by evaluation of key county agents and organization leaders.

To what extent alters' expectations will determine the behavior of the specialist will likely depend upon the strength of the self-image which the specialist brings to the job. Since, in most cases, the specialist does not get a detailed, formal job description, the specialist must accurately assess the roles of the other groups so that he can accurately know what they expect. A continuing phase of the project reported in this paper is to discover what the alter groups actually do expect of the specialist.

³⁴J. J. Preiss, "Differential Role Imagery as a Factor in Evaluating Performance: A Study of Four Michigan County Agents," paper presented before the Rural Sociological Society, College Park, Maryland, Aug. 29–30, 1955.

A Rural Community at the Urban Fringe

This paper reports on a study of a rural school district in the Piedmont section of North Carolina. Two major industrial cities were accessible to residents of the district. Dependency on these cities had increased since the turn of the century, including a recent upsurge in employment of district residents in urban industry.

Conceptualization of the interaction of the neighborhoods of the school district in the context of the metropolitan community was accomplished by the use of the concept "boundary maintenance." Institutions, community organization and social stratification were analyzed as boundary mechanisms.

Although change on a wide front had occurred, the school district retained considerable stability. The social organization of the district became more like that found in urban centers. Consolidation of schools brought the neighborhoods into a larger territorial unit, that had become more than an administrative entity.

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AS America moves into the latter half of the twentieth century, students of rural life express growing concern over the future of farming communities. Rural-urban migration seems to continue unabated. From 1950 to 1957 the farm population in America declined by 4.7 million. The spreading boundaries of metropolitan communities and the instruments of mass communication have extended urban influences into most of the rural corners of the nation. Change is swift and disorganization almost inevitable. This paper reports the results of a study of a rural school district in North Carolina that has experienced considerable change on a wide front and has retained its stability.

•The study was made possible by the assistance of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina.

¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, Estimates of the Farm Population of the United States, April 1950 to 1957 (Series Census OAMS P-27, No. 24; Washington: Government Printing Office, October 20, 1957).

In 1954 a study of the Nathanael Greene school district, situated near two major urban centers, was initiated. At the outset the concern was with the effects of urbanization on the locality group. As more was learned about the district, a theoretical framework was developed which allowed analysis of the internal structure of the district in the context of the metropolitan community. The study was exploratory in the sense that it sought to conceptualize the dependence of one rural area on nearby urban centers. This paper discusses the nature of the problem and the more important findings and conclusions.

The Greene school district was situated approximately fifteen miles southeast of Greensboro, a city of 80,000 people, and southwest of Burlington, with 24,000 people. Residents of almost any section of the district could drive to either city in a half hour or less. A town of a thousand people was located seven miles south of the district.

Internally the district consisted of seven neighborhoods, each possessing at least one church. The first churches were established in the middle and late decades of the eighteenth century by German settlers. Many descendants of the early inhabitants still reside in the district.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The development of a framework that would permit the study of both the internal organization of the district and the relations of the district to its external environment was a major problem. The traditional approach of sociologists to the rural community, as the trade area of a village, would divide the school district into the trading area of the three adjacent urban centers. Certain characteristics of the school district led to the rejection of this approach. The recent growth of many of the churches, the strength of loyalties to both neighborhood and school district, the rise of voluntary associations, and the development of an effective community organization signified the existence of a social organization that transcended the neighborhood.

On the other hand, the district had become dependent on adjacent urban centers for a variety of services. Working off the farm was only the most recent manifestation of a long-term trend. The possibility existed that dependency on urban social institutions might also increase. The level of dependency on the external environment might expand to the point where a decline in the institutions of the district would result. This has happened in many locality units; Wynne's study of Harmony, Georgia, is but one example.² Whether or not this occurred in Nathanael Greene depended to a considerable extent on the internal organization of the district. The problem of studying the locality unit became one of analyzing two sets of opposing forces: those tending to increase the dependency of the district on the external

*Waller Wynne, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, Harmony, Georgia (Rural Life Studies, No. 6; Washington: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1943).

environment and those tending to maintain the structural independence of the district. This context was considered appropriate for

the application of the concept "boundary maintenance."

As used by Parsons3 and by Loomis and Beegle,4 boundary maintenance refers to the capacity of a social system to preserve its form or pattern of organization. It is a concept designating resistance to change in the basic patterns of social relationships. In this study the crucial factor was the avoidance of a different type of change, not in the patterns of social life, but in the spatial unit where most of the important interactions took place. The central consideration was thought to be the extent to which the school district could limit its dependency on adjacent urban centers only to necessary services. Consequently boundary maintenance was defined as the ability of a social system to restrict the social relationships of its members to those persons within the system. Effective boundary mechanisms would result in the establishment of social distance between residents of the district and those in the external system. Changes in the organization of specific structures might contribute to effective boundary maintenance. This proved to be correct.

The use of this framework had several consequences. A functional analysis of the social structures of the district as boundary mechanisms was required. The institutions of the family, church, and school, social stratification, community organization, and leadership were studied in this manner.

Our theoretical framework required also an assessment of the effects of the operation of the boundary mechanisms of neighborhood and school district. How successful was the latter in restricting its dependency on the outside world? Which were more effective, the mechanisms of the neighborhoods or those of the school district? We were unable to pursue the latter line of inquiry satisfactorily.

MIGRATION

Data, although limited, were obtained on migration out of the district. The vocational agriculture instructor of the high school had a record of each boy who had attended high school since 1935. From these data it was possible to determine those boys who had left the district and those who remained, the tenure status of parent, and the size of the parental farm. Approximately three hundred boys were compared on the basis of when they left or completed high school. It was found that the proportion of males no longer residing in the district at the time of this study who had left high school between 1935 and 1940 was 47 per cent. For those who left school between 1941 and 1948, 41 per

⁸Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 482–483. ⁴Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology, The Strategy of Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), pp. 18–19, 132–133.

Table 1. Number of boys attending Greene High School who migrated from the Greene district, by tenure and farm size, 1935–1955*

			Year	left high	school		
Size of parental farm	1935-	-1940	1941-	-1948	1949-	-1955	
parentai iarm	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed	Moved	Stayed	Total
Renter	8	1	8	2	8	7	34
1-25 acres		9	6	9	-	10	38
26-100 acres	16	22	20	40	1	32	131
101 + acres	7	14	4	17	1	12	55
Don't know †	7		6	1	-	5	19
Total	35	46	38	68	10	61	278

 $X^{2} = 67$, p = 0.01, C = .14.

•The sample includes those males who graduated from high school as well as those who left before graduating. The sample excludes the twenty-five boys currently in the armed services.

+In calculating chi-square this row was excluded.

cent no longer resided in the district. Of the boys who left or completed school between 1949 and 1955, 12 per cent had left the district.

Table 1 reveals that the decline in out-migration held for sons of tenants as well as for sons of farm owners, and for boys from small farms as well as from large. For boys whose parents were tenants, almost 90 per cent of those leaving high school from 1935 to 1940 moved from the district. In the succeeding time period the percentage declined to 80 per cent, and in the most recent period approximately 54 per cent migrated. For boys whose fathers owned farms of 25 acres or less, the proportion moving in each time period was 31 per cent, 40 per cent, and 0 per cent, respectively. The proportion of sons of farmers with farms larger than twenty-six acres but not more than a hundred that left the district was 42 per cent, 33 per cent, and 3 per cent, respectively. In the class of largest parental farms the proportion moving from the school district was 33 per cent, 19 per cent, and 8 per cent. The relation between type of farm, size of farm, and leaving the school district was significant at the .01 level.

Interpretation of the data must be restrained. Information is not available on when the students left the district; it was assumed that they left shortly after terminating their high-school education. It is entirely possible that many of the boys who left school after 1949 may yet move from the district, thereby reducing the differential in migration rate. Data were not available for boys who did not attend high school, or for girls.

On the other hand, the fact that the decline in migration was experienced by sons of large and small farmers indicates that the decline in out-migration may have affected those who did not attend high school. The decline in the sex ratio for the township in which two-thirds of the district falls,⁵ from 108.8 in 1930 to 106.3 in 1940 and to 98.4 in 1950 suggests that the rate of out-migration of females declined as well.⁶ Population increased in the township at a rate of 15.2 per cent in the decade 1940–1950 compared with a 12.8 per cent increase the previous decade.⁷ This rate of increase for the past decade is less than that of the county but slightly greater than that of the state. If a marked decline in out-migration did occur, it would seem as if the boundary mechanisms of the district had become more effective. Our analysis indicated this to be the case.

Changes in agriculture also occurred. At a time when the opportunities for off-the-farm employment were high, the number of farms in the township was as large as in the years of the depression, when very few nonfarm jobs were available. In 1954 the number of farms in the township was 296, 276 in 1950, 238 in 1945, and 299 in 1940.8 As the opportunities for nonfarm employment increased, the number of

farms increased.

The increase in number of farms in the township since 1945 was not accompanied by an expansion of agricultural activity. The number of acres of cropland harvested in the township declined 22 per cent from 6,639 in 1945 to 5,172 in 1954. The average size of farm declined from 98 acres in 1935 to 85.5 in 1945, and to 68.2 acres in 1954. This is due to the fact that many farms in the township now are operated on a part-time basis by men who holds jobs in nearby towns.

The expansion of part-time farming represents a decline in the reliance on agriculture by district residents. Nevertheless, part-time farming has important consequences for the stability of the family and of the neighborhood. It is an arrangement whereby families that are most dependent on the urban economic system retain ties to the land of their families, and therefore to the locality groups of their forefathers.

NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Social institutions experienced changes which increased their effec-

⁸Approximately two-thirds of Greene district is in Greene Township and one third in Clay Township. The data are for Greene Township.

⁸U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1930, Vol. III, Pt. 2, Table 21; 1940, Vol. II, Pt. 5, Table 28; 1950, Vol. III, Ch. 22, Table I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932, 1943, 1952).

⁷U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1950, Vol. I, Number of Inhabitants (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952), Table 6, pp. 33-12 to 33-18.

*Census data on agriculture in Greene Township were made available by the Bureau of the Census from unpublished data.

tiveness as boundary mechanisms. The central characteristic of kinship, however, was the persistence of the joint family as a distinctive unit. Family groupings were characterized by one or more families of procreation located close to the family of orientation of either husband or wife. In a few instances this joint family operated a farm; more frequently one or two of the conjugal units farmed, and the other units engaged in nonfarm work. The conjugal units of the joint family co-operated in a variety of social and economic activities. Usually the joint family participated as one unit in the neighborhood church.

The joint family restricted the location of married offspring to an area close to the parental home. In part this was accomplished by the sale or gift of family land to a married son or daughter. The land was used as the site for a home and for cultivation, either of a garden or of

crops, or both.

The effectiveness of the joint family as a boundary mechanism contributed to the decline in out-migration, and therefore to an increasing population. This had two results. First, adjustment to the expanding population required greater administrative complexity of churches and of the school. A larger number of leadership positions was made available to residents of each neighborhood. This facilitated

an expansion of the middle class.

All the churches of the district have been affected by reliance on the adjacent urban centers; some have been affected more than others. Many had modified their organization, beliefs, and activities and had expanded facilities. Social events had become more numerous, or were in the process of expansion, in all but two of the churches. For those that had moved farthest in this direction, church organization became more complex, and fundamentalism declined. The churches that were changing most slowly had experienced marked conflict. Members of the older generation resisted the demands of the younger for a full-time minister, for a parish house, for indoor toilets, and for activities such as bake sales. As evidence of the rapid rate of change in several of the district's churches, two fundamentalist churches were organized after 1948. This was a response to the secularization of the established churches.

The increased importance of the church as a center for organized social activities was evident in a number of ways. Kitchen and diningroom facilities were added to four churches. A number of other churches used the facilities of the "Lion's Hut." Fund-raising drives were occasions for social gatherings. At two churches these functions raised over \$2,000 in one day for several consecutive years. Recreational activities for young people, and for the aged, were multiplying. The expanded social and recreational functions of the church made it a neighborhood center for organized social activity.

The neighborhoods were dependent upon the school district for edu-

cation and for participation in the Parent-Teacher Association. In addition the school encouraged a variety of activities not directly related to its explicit function. The existence of the school fostered the rise of voluntary associations because of the facilities it possessed. Since several of these organizations, especially the Grange, played a prominent part in efforts to improve the district, e.g., obtaining electricity and phones, one might say that the school indirectly encouraged community organization. The school directly fostered this development by raising the level of education and by training students for participation in voluntary associations. The school also provided recreational facilities for young people. However, this program had not been successful.

The recognition of the interdependence of the several neighborhoods resulted, immediately after the end of the Second World War, in a program of co-operation among many churches of the school district. A softball league for young people during the summer vacation was in operation for several years. A training school for lay leaders, especially Sunday-school teachers, lasted for almost a decade. The softball league collapsed when young people began working in town in large numbers. They preferred to participate in industrial leagues. The training school was terminated more recently when it was felt that it interfered with the efforts of each denomination to develop lay leaders. The demise of these activities is evidence of the difficulties of organizing interneighborhood co-operation in areas that are not strictly within the province of specific institutions.

The dynamics of community organization also indicate the extent to which the neighborhoods were integrated into the district. A pattern of problem solving evolved from the efforts to obtain electricity, telephone service, and paved roads. This pattern is distinguished by a sequence of events. First, the Grange raised and discussed the problem. The organization decided on a course of action and selected a committee to implement it. When the committee encountered serious obstacles, a town meeting was called at the school. Residents of the district were informed of the problem and of the action taken. A committee representing the district was appointed composed of representatives of each of the neighborhoods. The men appointed to the committee usually knew influential people in the external system. The committee persisted in trying to solve the problem. While community organization was anchored in the Grange, it included devices for obtaining the co-operation of representatives of all the neighborhoods.

One of the important tasks that the committee often had to accomplish was the location of the sources of authority in the external environment that commanded the allocation of services within the district, e.g., who could compel a national phone company to provide local services. Perhaps it was for this reason that those leaders in the

district that had the most power and status were those who exerted influence in the external system, such as a former county commissioner and the chairman of the county board of agriculture.

Hitherto we have discussed the structures that have made both the neighborhood and the school district effective locality groups. Continued interest in agriculture, albeit part-time farming, the operation of the joint family, and the transformation of the church into a social center resulted in the continued vitality of the neighborhood. On the other hand, the consolidation of schools led to an awareness of the interdependence of the neighborhoods, to a proliferation of voluntary associations, and to the development of a pattern of community organization. Clearly the school district had developed into a locality group that was more than an administrative unit designed for formal education. Both developments—the continued vitality of the neighborhoods and the emergence of a social organization in the school district—indicated the maintenance of a high level of stability as dependence on adjacent cities increased. This is one of the important findings.

Changes in stratification contributed to effective boundary maintenance. The increased reliance on off-the-farm employment raised the level of living in the district. This facilitated social mobility. The increased opportunities for leadership in the churches and in the formal organizations of the district had a similar result. The distribution of status was broadened. Observations suggested an expansion of the middle class, and the development of a middle-class style of life. Good clothes, a modern home, travel, participation in organizations, education, both high-school and college, were important values.

The opportunities for social mobility for the district resident were greater if he lived in the district than if he moved to town. In part this was due to the economic advantages of obtaining land from parents and to the economic value of garden vegetables and/or crops. Of greater importance was the fact that the district lacked a strong business and professional group. Competition for middle-class positions was not as keen as it would have been in the city. In fact many of the farmers in the district still earned less than a thousand dollars in cash per year according to the 1950 census. The decision to maintain residence in the district could well result in the acquisition of greater status rewards than a decision to move to town.

CONCLUSIONS

First, when the locality unit was separated from the outside world by unpaved roads, the absence of telephones, the horse and buggy as the means of transportation, one type of social organization predominated. When accessibility to the outside world was greatly increased, newer forms of social life came into existence. Isolation was as much the necessary condition of the preceding form of social organization as dependence on the outside world was the functional pre-

requisite of the succeeding forms of social life.

Second, the newer forms of social life, featured by the increased importance of the church as a social center, the proliferation of special interest groups, the expansion of the middle class, the development of patterns of community organization, promoted the stability of the district and its neighborhoods under the new conditions. These changes made the social organization of the district more similar to that of urban centers. The advantages of town life were brought to the country.

Third, the boundary mechanisms that seem most effective, the joint family, the church as a social center, and the expansion of the middle class, provided the residents of the district with important advantages. The joint family attached its members to an essential primary group and maintained continuity between the present generation and the land and traditions of its ancestors. The church developed additional opportunities for leisure time activities and for the privileges and responsibilities of leadership. The changes in stratification extended the distribution of prestige and influence. These factors helped restrict

migration to urban centers.

Fourth, it is difficult to say whether the neighborhoods or the school district most resembled a community. The neighborhoods possessed the joint family, the church, informal relationships, and tradition. Despite their loss of institutional wholeness, they retained a strong hold over the loyalties of their residents. The district was characterized by secondary associations that effected community improvement and encouraged formal education. The district often served as the link between the county and the neighborhoods. In terms of both functions and sentiments the district had come to be something much more than an administrative unit serving the educational needs of young people. However, the development of a community in the district seemed to remain midway between the neighborhood as a territorial unit and the school district. At present this is all that can be safely said about this school district as a community.

The Place of Returning Migrants in a Stratification System

This study examines the place that returning Mexican migrants from the United States occupy in the stratification system of a border community. Preliminary observations revealed the presence of a two-strata system, with migrants predominating in the lower stratum. However, local residents perceived a three-strata system, making special distinctions within the lower economic category. The application of an index of status characteristics revealed certain ambiguities and inconsistencies in the stratification system which were not made evident by the use of subjective observation devices. Despite the dangers involved in using indices derived from studies of another society, they remain useful research tools if applied with caution in different social and cultural settings.

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FOR several decades the United States has been dependent on large numbers of Mexican migrants to harvest crops in many parts of the country. A significant feature of this migration is that most of these migrants annually return to Mexico to the communities from which they migrated. Some of them soon return again as braceros to the United States, others become permanent American residents, and still others prefer to stay in Mexico. Since Mexico may remain a rather permanent source of rural labor for the United States,¹ an understand-

•The field work for this study was done by Julius Rivera with the support of the Carnegie Corporation. This research is part of an extensive study of the impact of national images on technological interchange on the United States-Mexican border, under the general direction of Charles P. Loomis. The authors wish to express their gratitude to him for material and intellectual aid in support of this study. They also wish to acknowledge their debt to Roy A. Clifford and J. Allan Beegle for critical reading of the manuscript.

¹Migratory Labor in American Agriculture, Report on the President's Commission on Migratory Labor (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 3.

ing of the total migration cycle would appear necessary both to enrich our knowledge of the dynamics of migration and to enable us to meet more effectively the human problems generated by such mass migration.²

A research design which would encompass the entire migration cycle would call for a study of prospective migrants in their home communities before departure to the United States, an analysis of their experiences in this country, data on how these experiences alter their positions in the social structures of the Mexican communities to which they return, and information on how such social redefinitions in turn affect their future migration decisions. Only part of this cycle has been studied by social scientists. Some research has been devoted to describing the demographic characteristics of the Mexican migrants and other research has been concerned with the adjustment problems facing new arrivals in the United States.3 Very few students have studied the place of returning migrants in the social structure of Mexican communities and the possible impact of their revised social definitions on future decisions to migrate. Since a number of projects are currently being designed in the larger study to probe this complex area, this study may be viewed as a preliminary exploration.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this research was to probe into questions concerning the place which returning migrants from the United States occupied in the stratification system of a Mexican border community. The study of social stratification in such communities is theoretically appealing because the presence of such a large number of migrants means that the communities are experiencing rapid social and economic changes. These changes derive from the presence of two broad and contradictory forces: traditional forces of a folk and familistically oriented society, and innovating forces of a contractually oriented mass society. Such appropriate research questions were raised as the following: Were returning migrants derived from lower social strata of their native communities? Did they experience upward social mobility by virtue of their migration to the United States? Where did they fit into the stratification system of the community to which they returned?

²Among the few students who have addressed themselves to this problem are Robert Redfield, "The Antecedents of Mexican Migration to the United States," American Journal of Sociology, XXXV (1929); Max Handman, "Économic Reasons for the Coming of the Mexican Immigrant," American Journal of Sociology, XXXV (1930).

*See the bibliography referred to in Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, International Migrations: The Immigrant in the Modern World (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), especially pp. 587-602. See also Manuel Gamio, Mexican Immigration to the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); Lyle S. Saunders and Olen E. Leonard, The Wetbacks in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1951).

The methodological research challenge was to compare the insights concerning the stratification system of a changing community gained from alternative methods of studying social stratification. Do different methods provide different and contradictory observations into the dynamics of a social stratification system? Are the techniques used in the study of American communities also useful in studying a changing folklike community? Three techniques were used to study social stratification in the selected community: (a) direct preliminary observation of the stratification orders, (b) the perception of the stratification system by selected local judges representing obviously different economic and status segments of the community, and (c) the application of an objective index of socioeconomic status or an index of status characteristics similar to those currently used in studies of American communities.

RESEARCH SITE AND SAMPLE

The community selected for study was Sonoyta, in the state of Sonora, Mexico. It is a relatively small village community relatively isolated from the influence of larger Mexican or American communities. It is situated one mile south of the border near Ajo, Arizona, and strategically located along a highway that is commonly traveled by migrants going from and returning to Baja California,⁵ and the United States. The village contained 600 people and the *commissaria* in which it is located contained 1300 inhabitants. Most of the residents were racially mestizo with predominant Spanish characteristics. Only a few Papago Indian families resided in the community. The economy of the town was based mainly on local retail trade and services, irrigation cotton farming, and tourist trade, which was not as predominant as in most other border towns of similar size.

The population studied in Sonoyta was the total adult male working force in the village over 14 years of age. For several reasons certain subgroups were not fully interviewed. One such group was comprised of federal immigration officials who remained aloof from local associations, and the other was made up of a few tradesmen who refused to co-operate with the study. The remaining 130 adult males, who constituted about 85 per cent of the total possible universe, were observed and interviewed. These were classified according to migration status

"There is no inference that the stratification observations applied to this community characterize either Mexico as a whole or the border region as a whole. As Beals suggests, the types of stratification systems extant in Mexico and other Latin American countries are extremely varied. It is therefore risky to generalize on this subject and to apply American or European stratification ideas to Latin American countries. See Ralph L. Beals, "Social Stratification in Latin America," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (1953), 327–339.

The northern tier of Mexican states along the U.S. border has experienced the largest proportion of net migration gain next to the Federal District. See Nathan L. Whetten and Robert G. Burnight, "Internal Migration in Mexico," Rural Sociology,

XXI (1956), 145.

and analyzed for their position in the stratification system of the community by several methods. The first method was by direct observation.

The basic conceptual scheme utilized to study stratification was that of Max Weber.⁶ Irrespective of the method used to observe the stratification system, the researchers were careful to observe the distribution of income and property as reflecting economic or class stratification, the distribution of prestige or social honor as reflecting status differentiation, and the distribution of power.

DIRECT OBSERVATION

Upon first entering the community the researcher is more anxious to establish rapport than to start systematic research on his chosen subject. Yet he cannot and should not avoid making preliminary observations. In this instance, the researcher attempted to observe the distribution of real property in the village, the deference patterns exhibited in more or less public situations, and the political and govern-

mental decision process.

Preliminary observation of these three stratification orders tended to support the observations made by many students of Latin America; namely, that middle strata are poorly developed if not altogether absent in most communities. On first entering Sonoyta the observer easily located the few well-to-do families who owned much property both in town and out of town. The large mass of people appeared to be living in near poverty. Furthermore, the deference patterns and styles of life appeared to follow the class system closely. Thus the mass of people gave public obeisance to the wealthy. Moreover, etiquette patterns, manners, and related patterns of life style seemed to be important to the wealthy and relatively unimportant to the rest of the population. While a few relatively propertyless people occupied local posts of political significance, it was obvious that the wealthy really exerted political initiative and control.

Although only a partial identification of migrants to the United States could be possible at this early stage, it appeared that very few of them were represented in the upper group. At very best they appeared to be just a notch above the poorest. This general impression of a bifurcation in the stratification orders paralleling *los poseedores y los desposeidos* was not verified by subsequent interviewing and participation in the life of the community.

SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTION BY JUDGES

In order to test these preliminary impressions, several "judges" who

"See H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), ch. vii, "Class, Status, Party."

⁷Cf. Lowry Nelson, Rural Cuba (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950).
⁸Cf. Oscar Lewis, "Wealth Differences in a Mexican Village," Scientific Monthly, LXV (1947), 127–132.

represented high and low economic levels were informally interviewed over a period of months. Their observations, plus those gained by participant observation in the life of the community, led to an alteration of the two-strata system first observed. A three-strata system, with some internal vaguaries, seemed to approximate what the local people themselves perceived.

Modification of the preliminary observations of a two-strata system arose primarily from distinctions that respondents made within the lower stratum. They insisted that the lowest stratum should be limited to those who are "truly dispossessed." The latter refers explicitly to the peones and jornaleros, the illiterate and propertyless people who were in constant search of employment. They did not feel identified with any group in the community, with the possible exception of the extended family. Although deprived of economic opportunities in the community, they were less prone, compared with others, to become alambristas (wire-jumpers across the border). Yet they complained about the rigid American immigration system, which prevented them from improving their economic position. Caught in a rigid social system in Mexico and blocked by immigration restrictions from entering the United States, they had no hope for the future.

At the opposite extreme, it was clear that the upper stratum could not be considered an aristocracy in the traditional meaning of the term. Even by ignoring the humble origin of certain well-to-do families, it would still be difficult to characterize them as a traditional-oriented aristocracy. However, they tended to inherit their positions, which were at the summits of the class, status, and power orders. The upper stratum was by no means homogeneous either in terms of social composition or style of life. Occupationally, it was comprised of rich farmers, businessmen, political administrators, and others. They had accumulated real property both in town and in the rural district. Moreover, they had built good homes in a somewhat segregated area of the village. This upper stratum ran the political system of the community by controlling the process of making political appointments, the legitimation of these appointments, and making critical political decisions. They also controlled credit in the community.

The upper stratum could not be conceived as a homogeneous and solidary collectivity with a characteristic style of life. Yet this class was perceived by its members and by others as a discrete status grouping with two distinguishing style of life features. The first was a distinct

^{*}An inability to perceive this from the first may have resulted from the tendency of American sociologists to perceive the stratification systems from the perspectives of middle-status groups. Members of different social strata apparently use different tests of status from those used by the social scientists themselves. See William H. Form and Gregory P. Stone, "Urbanism, Anonymity and Status Symbolism," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (1957), 504-514.

tendency to be selective in their congeniality and mating patterns. While the men associated with members of lower-status groups in their economic activities, they were selective about their associates in card and drinking parties. Status factors were even more important in the associational life of the women. The closest approximation to a closed-status group in the community were the teen-age girls. Both their male and female companions were very carefully screened by status tests. ¹⁰ The critical role of the teen-age girls in the emergent upper stratum is underscored by the fact that they were thought of as setting the proper etiquette patterns for some of the group. Thus *striving* to maintain a system of etiquette constituted the single social requisite for entry into the top stratum.

The second style of life factor which distinguished the top stratum was its pattern of consumption. Quality of furniture, type of housing, type and age of automobile, and type of dress worn were some of the items which distinguished the upper from the middle stratum.

Although the middle stratum in Sonoyta could be thought of as a residual group not belonging to the extremes, it had certain identifiable characteristics. Thus none of its members was found to hold crucial positions of political importance in the community. Although some of them held administrative posts, they never challenged the control of the political system.¹¹ Moreover, no member of this group was known to have been a community-wide leader in the recent past. In the economic hierarchy, members of this stratum had not accumulated much property. However, they had permanent identifiable occupations with steady salaries or wages. 12 In terms of life style, consumption patterns were less important than other factors in isolating the middle group. Significantly, this group did not emphasize manners, even though this was a requisite for entry into the upper group. This may account for the relatively little social interaction among members of the upper and middle strata. Some members of the middle stratum had worked in the United States and many of their adolescent children were highly disposed to migrate to the United States.

The student of comparative stratification systems may be tempted to draw parallels between the systems found in small American and Mexican border communities. The authors are convinced that such parallels lead to more blind spots and false observations than to rich insights.

³⁶This is not to be confused with the common observation that upper-status women are carefully chaperoned in Latin America. The important point was the great care in accepting the status qualifications of both male and female companions.

[&]quot;This may have been a vestige of an older system of political control. In other border communities, members of middle-status groups often hold important positions of political control. In Juárez, Chihuahua, for example, the political system was dominated by elements of the middle- and lower-status groups in the community.

¹²This clearly distinguished them from the lower stratum, many of whom had temporary jobs and irregular incomes.

While there is some evidence to suggest that stratification systems of the two nations may be becoming more alike, more may be learned by seeking to understand the dynamics peculiar to each system.¹³

APPLICATION OF OBJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

Systematic observation of the place of returning migrants from the United States in the stratification systems of the community was difficult with the use of subjective observation techniques. The main reason for this was that about two-thirds of the population interviewed had been in the United States. It was not surprising then to find that these people were represented in all of the social strata which were discerned in the community. The critical questions then became, what degree of representation did the various types of contact groups have in different social strata? Is the type or amount of contact with the United States associated with place in the stratification system? In order to answer these questions an index of stratification position and an operational definition of contact had to be constructed. The advantage of using a standard measure of socioeconomic status was that it would not necessarily commit the researcher to accepting a given number of social strata in the community. At the same time, the separate elements which went into the index might provide cues for explaining some of the apparent "anomalies" found in the stratification system.14 For these reasons, despite the dangers involved, an index of status characteristics was applied to the total sample. This index combined scores on separate occupational, educational, and property scales. The population was arbitrarily divided into three "contact groups." Those who had worked in the United States for pay continuously for a month or more were classified as migrants. They comprised 35 per cent of the respondents. The "visitors," 30 per cent of the total, included all who had visited the United States for any reason, and the remaining 35 per cent comprised the "nonvisitor group," who had never crossed the border.

Occupation: An important question is whether migrants to the United States raised or lowered their occupational level during their stay in this country and after their return to Mexico. Although extreme caution is needed to interpret Table 1, it appears that migration was associated with rising occupational attainment both in the United States and in Mexico. Thus, almost nine-tenths of the prospective migrants were common laborers prior to migration, less than eight-

18 Beals, op. cit.

¹⁶Relatively few attempts have been made to apply in Latin American techniques currently used to study stratification in American communities. Among the most serious efforts is that of Charles P. Loomis and others, "Social Status and Communication in Costa Rica Rural Communities," in Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions (E. Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953).

tenths held such jobs in the United States, and less than three-tenths were so employed in Sonoyta at the time of the study. Although none of the respondents were ranchers, proprietors, or professionals prior to migration, two-fifths were in these categories at the time of the study. Moreover, the proportion of skilled and semiskilled workers almost doubled during the period.

Table 1. Past and present occupations of adult male migrants of Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico

Occupational categories	Mexico: previous to migration	United States	Mexico: after migration
	%	%	%
Large and small proprietors .	-		11
Ranchers and farmers	-	_	13
Clerical workers		_	17
Skilled and semiskilled workers	9	7	17
Service workers	2	13	13
Transient workers		24	_
Common laborers	89	56	28
Totals	100	100	99
Number of cases	46	46	46

No doubt factors other than migration explain part of this phenomenal upward mobility. Increased age is usually accompanied by some upward mobility. More important, the expanding occupational structure of the economy over time called for greater representation in higher occupational levels. It is doubtful, however, that these factors explain all of the occupational mobility. The probable role of migration in stimulating occupational mobility is suggested by the fact that none of the workers in the nonvisitor group had achieved managerial status. Moreover, it was commonly asserted in the village that money earned in the United States enabled some residents to raise their economic position.

A systematic comparison of the place of migrants, visitors, and the nonvisitors in the occupational structure of the village illuminates further the probable role of migration in occupational mobility. All of the occupations found in the community were placed into one of three levels as follows: professionals, ranchers, and proprietors were placed in the highest level; small proprietors, clerical workers, skilled and semiskilled were placed in the middle group; and farmers, service workers, and common laborers were included in the lowest level. The

hypothesis held was that migrants would tend to concentrate in occupations in the middle range, visitors would be concentrated in the higher occupations, and the nonvisitor group would be overrepresented in the lower occupations. This indeed was the case, as data in Table 2 suggest. Although the visitors were concentrated more in the higher occupations, the difference between the migrant and the nonvisitor distributions was small. However, the application of the chi-square test to the table indicates probability falling beyond the .001 level of significance. The coefficient of contingency for the distribution is moderately high and tends to support the hypothesis.

Education: The migration literature suggests that migrants are typically not the poorest segments of the community. We expected the ex-migrants in Sonoyta to be concentrated in the middle educational range, while nonvisitors would predominate in the lowest range and visitors in the highest. The findings in Table 3 do not entirely support these expectations. Migrants turned out to be the highest educated, with a median education of 4.5 years, visitors were close behind with a median education of 3.9 years, and the median education for the nonvisitor group was 2.4 years. Apparently these differences are statistically reliable since the probability of the chi-square falls below the .01 level.

These findings cannot be explained by the common assertion that the migrants are usually young adults and therefore more likely to be more highly educated than others in the community. No statistically reliable differences for age were found among the three contact groups in the community. Neither were differences found among the three groups for place of longest residence, which excludes the possibility that

Table 2. Occupational status of contact groups in Sonoyta, Mexico

000		:		-1	Lo	1		Co	ontact gro	ups	Total
Occi	ıpa	4(1)	on	aı	1e.	vei	5	Migrants	Visitors	Nonvisitors	1 otal
								%	%	%	%
High .								11	25	-	11
Middle								48	67	51	55 34 100
Low .								41	8	49	
Total								100	100	100	
Numb	er	o	fc	ase	es	0		46	39	45	130

$$X^2 = 25.280.$$
 $p < .001.$ $C = .54.$

¹⁸U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Mobility* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956), pp. 413-414.

¹⁸Something similar was found by Otto Klineberg, Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 23.

Table 3. Educational level for contact groups

V		-	-6		ho	a l	:		Co	ontact grou	ups	Total
10	cal	18	OI	SC	110	101	ing	5	Migrants	Visitors	Nonvisitors	Total
									%	%	%	%
None	•	0	e		0	0	6		13	15	38	22
1-3			0		0				22	39	29	29
4-6									54	28	20	35
7-mor									11	18	13	14
Tot	al								100	100	100	100
Nur									46	39	45	130

 $X^2 = 18.454$. p < .01. C = .14.

the migrants had higher education by virtue of a history of urban residence.

Property index: Since data on income and value of property were unavailable, a property index was devised which reflected economic levels in the community. Factors in the index included (a) ownership or rental of home, (b) ownership or rental of farm property, and (c) degree of crowding in the home. Weights were assigned to each factor, and the total population was divided into four groupings as indicated in Table 4. A chi-square test applied to the property index scores for the contact groups resulted in a probability at the 20 per cent level. If the index is valid, differences among the contact groups are minimal. Yet the trends found in Table 4 were in the expected direction. The visitors had greater representation in the two highest property levels

Table 4. Property levels of three contact groups

Decreets	la		la		Co	ontact gro	ups	Total
Property	ic	vei	is		Migrants	Visitors	Nonvisitors	Total
					%	%	%	%
High	۰				17	20	11	16
Upper middle					31	39	24	31
Lower middle					15	15	38	23
Low					37	26	27	30
Total					100	100	100	100
Number of c	ase	S			46	39	45	130

 $X^2 = 10.130.$ p < .20.

compared to the migrants, and the nonvisitor group tended to be concentrated in the two lower property levels.

The relatively low differentiation among the groups is due to the fact that all of them had high representations in the lowest property level. Added to this, is the fact that age tended to be highly related to property accumulation. Thus the probability of the chi-squares between age and all factors in the property index all fell below the .05 level of significance. Age was positively related to house ownership, number of rooms, and land ownership.

Socioeconomic status: Occupation, education, and property were combined into a single weighted index similar to the index of status characteristics employed by Warner and others.¹⁷ Total index scores were grouped into three levels to correspond to the strata earlier discerned by subjective methods. Table 5 shows that the upper group contained 30 per cent of the respondents, the middle group 48 per cent, and the lower 22 per cent. As might be expected, the socioeconomic index clearly differentiated the three contact groups. Visitors had highest proportion represented in the highest socioeconomic level, followed by migrants and nonvisitors. Only 3 per cent of the visitors were found in the lowest level compared to one-quarter of migrants and one-third of nonvisitors. About the same proportion of migrants and nonvisitors were concentrated in the middle socioeconomic group.

Table 5. Socioeconomic levels of contact groups

Socioeconomic status scores	Co	ontact grou	ups	Total
status scores	Migrants	Visitors	Nonvisitors	Total
	%	%	%	%
High (12-15)	28	46	18	30
Middle (6-11)	48	51	47	48 22 100
Low (0-5)	24	3	35	
Totals	100	100	100	
Number of cases	46	39	45	130

 $X^2 = 17.804$. p < .01. C = .47.

Conclusions: The number of strata derived by the use of an index of socioeconomic status is, of course, arbitrary. If the population is dichotomized, three-tenths are in the upper half and seven-tenths in the lower half. If four strata are preferred, the middle groups include

¹⁷See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949). Weights were distributed in the following ranges: occupation was weighted 1-5; education 0-4; property 1-5.

almost three-quarters of the population. Participant observation can provide cues as to what divisions exist in the community. Final decisions on this were difficult if not impossible in Sonoyta because the stratification system seemed to be marked by ambiguities, anomalies, and "inconsistencies." This was in part due to the presence of a large proportion of returning migrants from the United States, who prob-

ably upset the otherwise stable pattern.

Thus, although occupation was found to be positively and highly associated with educational and property attainment, education was not significantly associated with the accumulation of property. This situation may be explained in part by the fact that older people had achieved high occupational and economic levels without much formal education. In the past, the process of attaining economic power, as in many rural communities, was by a gradual extension of landholding rather than by acquiring formal education. Yet education is highly valued in the community, and the highly educated not only commanded respect but had social access to the highest-status groups. Furthermore, the propertied people wanted their children to be educated as a sign of status distinction.

Returning migrants tended to be found in the lower middle ranges of the status, class, and power orders of the community. Many of their children feared that, since upward occupational mobility would be limited in Mexico, they would be better off to emigrate permanently. The attractiveness of the United States and the lack of confidence that local opportunities would develop may partially explain the antagonisms that higher-status groups in Mexico have toward the United States.¹⁸

18The bearing of migration experiences to attitudes toward the United States will be reported elsewhere.

Church Participation Related to Social Class and Type of Center

The salient findings of this study may be summarized as follows:

1. The effects of social class upon church membership, frequency of church attendance, and frequency of attendance at extrachurch activities were (a) more marked in the larger communities, i.e., those with the greatest degree of social differentiation, and (b) more marked among Protestants than among Catholics.

2. Higher participation patterns existed among members of Continental European origin churches than among Anglo-American origin churches for both social groups.

Catholics had higher participation patterns than Protestants in almost all of the centers studied for both social groups.

4. Of the two service center villages in the study, the one with the greatest number of churches had higher participation patterns for the blue-collar group, although there was no statistical evidence of greater white-collar participation.

5. Membership in voluntary associations was class selective. No significant variation in membership in voluntary associations was noted among white-collar Protestants by size of center, although white-collar Protestants in the dominantly Protestant county seat town had higher membership than the comparable Catholic group.

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*The funds for this study have come from several sources. Major contributions have been made by the Sears Roebuck Foundation, the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational-Christian Churches, the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago, the Chicago Theological Seminary, and the Princeton (Illinois) Ministerial Association, while smaller amounts have been received from the Presbyterian Board of National Missions and the Farm Foundation.

CONCOMITANT with the decline, both relative and absolute, of the rural farm population of the United States in the past half-century has been the decline in the number of rural churches. Hamlets, villages, and towns have been affected to varying degrees by the population changes that have accompanied the transition of the United States from an agricultural to a dominantly industrial nation. Although adequate data are not available to document the assertion, it has also often been said that the influence of town and country churches in the areas in which they are located has similarly declined during this period. Ideological bases, association patterns, styles of life, and the character of people have been markedly affected by the far reaching structural changes that have occurred in American society since 1900.

The ethics and society field of the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago has undertaken a study to assess the current religious life in the churches of the American corn belt and to examine the mutual interaction between the churches and the society in which they are set. One phase of the study focused on church participation patterns in various types of communities in a corn belt county. The findings of this facet of the study are presented in this paper.

METHOD

A schedule was prepared and administered to people in five different types of communities in a corn belt county and in the open country. A random sample of the population was drawn by selecting every $n^{\rm th}$ dwelling unit in which the occupants were interviewed. In the case of a refusal, information was obtained from neighbors whenever possible. In no case were new dwelling units added to the sample.

In Maizeville and East Town, the two largest towns in which interviews were conducted, a 25 per cent sample was drawn. In the open country, and in Coal Village and Serviceville, a 50 per cent sample was used, while a 100 per cent enumeration was made in Elm Center, the hamlet. The data were coded on IBM cards and machine-tabulated.

Two polar social groups have been used to examine the effects of social class on church membership patterns and on membership in voluntary associations. One group consisted of white-collar workers or the wives of white-collar workers who also had at least a high-school education and who lived in an average-type house or better. The other group consisted of blue-collar workers or the wives of blue-collar workers who also had a high-school education or less and who lived in an average-type house or less.²

'Some of the salient characteristics of the communities studied are given in Table 1. Demographic analysis indicated that the county possessed characteristics comparable to many other corn belt counties.

²Space limitations prevent a review of the vast literature that exists on social class and on differential participation patterns by social class. The present writers are

Table 1. Summary of selected characteristics for the centers included in this study

Area or community	Approx. 1950 population	% change in population 1930–1950	Median years school completed, 1950, for population 25 years and over	Type of community	Dominant religious group
Corn County	38,000	-2.9	9.5		Protestant
Maizeville	0000'9	21.1	11.0	County seat, service center.	
				town	Protestant
East Town	5,000	-6.7	9.8	Industrial town	Catholic
Coal Village	1,000	5.7		Service center,	
				village	Protestant
Serviceville	1,000	7.7		Service center,	
				village	Protestant
Elm Center	200	23.2	•	Hamlet	Protestant
Rural farm population	2,000	-7.0		Open country	Protestant

*Data not available. Median years of school completed for both the rural farm and rural nonfarm population 25 years and over in 1950 was 9.0 years.

Because of evidence examined in other facets of this study and in other participation studies which indicated lower participation of people below 30 and over 65, the analysis was confined to the 30–64 age group. The high correlation between social class and occupation which Warner and his associates found in Jonesville (.91) contributed to the decision to use this typology. White-collar workers included professional, technical, and kindred workers, managers, officials and proprietors (excluding farmers), and clerical, sales, and kindred workers. Blue-collar workers included all the other major occupational groups employed by the Bureau of the Census. In some cases, farmers were treated separately. In such instances, reference is made to that fact. The house-type scale which was employed was the seven-point scale developed by Warner and his associates.³ Average houses ranked midway on a scale ranging from excellent to very poor.

THE FINDINGS

Data dealing with (a) church membership, (b) frequency of church attendance, (c) frequency of attendance at extrachurch activities, and (d) membership in voluntary associations are presented for each of the centers examined. In addition, data on interchurch participation differentials for selected communities and denominations are presented.

(a) Church membership: The distribution of the sample according to the church membership is shown in Tables 2 and 3. It should be

Table 2. Church membership in per cent by type of center for broad groups

1							Duntes	Cashalia	Name	Total	10
Area							Protes- tant	Catholic	None	Total	N
Maizeville .	0		9				70.3	8.8	20.9	100.0	957
East Town*							20.9	59.0	20.1	100.0	766
Coal Village							41.2	32.0	26.8	100.0	366
Serviceville				٠			58.7	13.3	28.0	100.0	286
Elm Center							57.0	13.1	29.9	100.0	107
Rural farm p	00	pu	la	tio	n	of					
3 township	S						61.1	10.7	28.2	100.0	543

^{*}Four Jewish adults excluded from analysis.

particularly indebted to the works of W. Lloyd Warner and his associates, especially W. Lloyd Warner, et al., Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper, 1949); W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949); and W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

*See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells, op. cit., pp. 143-150.

Table 3. Church membership in per cent for broad groups by social class for selected centers

Area	Prote	Protestant		Carl	Catholic		N	None		To	Total	
	White- collar	Blue- collar	×	White- collar	Blue- collar	>	White- collar	Blue- collar	. >	White- collar	Blue- collar	×
Maizeville	56.6	43.4*	297		38.9	36	1	79.1	98		50.4	419
East Town	.32.5	67.5	83	16.7	83.3	221	4.4	92.6	89	18.0	82.0	372
Coal Village	34.8	65.2	99		69.4	49		80.0	35		70.0	150
Serviceville	36.8	63.2	9/		71.4	21		84.2	38		70.4	135
Total	47.1	52.9	522		75.5	327		85.0	227		66.5	1076

*This means that 56.6 per cent of the Protestant church members in Maizeville are in the white-collar group, as compared with 49.6 per cent of the total population of Maizeville in the white-collar group and that only 43.4 per cent of the Protestant church members are in the blue-collar group, compared with 50.4 per cent of the total population of Maizeville in the blue-collar group. Compared rable interpretations may be made for the other groupings in the table. noted that there were sharp differences both in church membership patterns in Maizeville and East Town and in the class structure of the two towns. While Coal Village had markedly more Catholics than Serviceville, the two villages had very comparable class structures. The hamlet and the rural-farm population were dominantly Protestant.

In general, the number of nonchurch members varied inversely with the size of the community. About one-fifth of the population in the two large communities in the sample, East Town and Maizeville, were not church members, while the proportion climbed to almost 30 per cent in the hamlet and in the rural farm portion of the sample. Chi-square analysis indicated that Maizeville and East Town had significantly higher proportions of church members, while the rural farm population had significantly less than the total sample.⁴ The two villages and the hamlet did not differ significantly from the population as a whole. There was no difference in the proportion of nonchurched in the two larger communities in spite of the sharp difference in the composition of the church membership.

Table 3 shows the distribution of church membership by social class. The effects of social class upon church membership patterns were more marked in the larger towns, Maizeville and East Town, i.e., in areas with the greatest degree of social differentiation, and more marked among Protestants than among Catholics. For all centers, Protestants had significantly more members in the white-collar group, while Catholics and nonchurch members had significantly more in the blue collar group.

A chi-square analysis of the distributions revealed significant differences among the three groups by social class in Maizeville and East Town. While the chi-squares in Coal Village and Serviceville were fairly high, they were not significant. In none of the areas studied was there any evidence to indicate that the Catholic Church drew disproportionately from the white-collar group. However, Protestants drew disproportionately from the white-collar group in all the communities except Coal Village. Similarly, the class selective character of the non-church group manifested itself. Again, with the exception of Coal Village, the nonchurch members were drawn disproportionately from the blue-collar group.⁵

^{&#}x27;The 5 per cent level of significance is employed throughout this paper.

⁸While the white-collar workers have contributed disproportionately to the membership of the Protestant churches in almost all the areas of the study, the several Protestant churches in the largest community were themselves class selective.

The Baptists and Christians drew the largest proportion of their members from the blue-collar group. The Congregational and Presbyterian churches drew the largest proportion of their members from the white-collar group, while the other churches were in intermediate positions. (Other churches with sufficient membership for statistical analysis included: Augustana Lutheran, United Lutheran, Methodist, and Mission Covenant.) Chi-square analysis did not reveal that any of the other

Table 4. Frequency of church attendance per year in per cent by type of center

Area	None	1-11 times	12-40 times	41 times and over	Total	N
Maizeville	21.7	19.9	23.7	34.7	100.0	948
East Town	20.4	15.2	17.1	47.3	100.0	756
Serviceville	22.2	23.6	19.4	34.8	100.0	284
Coal Village	19.2	19.2	25.9	35.7	100.0	359
Elm Center	30.8	11.2	11.2	46.8	100.0	107
Rural farm population of						
3 townships	24.4	23.4	24.9	27.3	100.0	542

(b) Frequency of church attendance: A summary of the data on frequency of church attendance per year at Sunday morning worship services is presented in Table 4. The lowest church attendance was found in the rural farm portion of the sample, while the highest attendance was found in dominantly Catholic East Town and in the hamlet of Elm Center. Somewhere between one-third and one-half the population may be considered "core" members, i.e., members who attended church 41 or more times per year, while about 40 per cent of the adult population attended less than 12 times a year.

Because of variations in social class and religious composition in the several communities, gross attendance data are of limited usefulness in analysis. Analysis by social groups and by church membership, as shown in Table 5, are of more value in understanding the dynamics of church participation. Although there was some variation in participation in the Catholic Church by geographical area, participation was markedly higher than the comparable patterns for Protestants in all the areas studied. The hamlet had significantly higher participation

Protestant churches drew disproportionately from the three social groups, although the chi-square for the Methodists approached the level of significance.

East Town had only one Protestant church, so it was not treated. Because of the size of the sample, it was not possible to treat statistically the churches in the other communities. The less sharp stratification in the other areas appeared to militate the class picture, although the data for Serviceville showed some class selectivity. In that town, which had seven churches, the Methodist Church appeared to have the greatest proportion of white-collar members in the age group examined.

The differential participation patterns among Protestants may largely be accounted for by social class differences, as data not presented here showed. There was remarkably constant frequency of participation patterns among white-collar Protestants in the two largest towns included in the study, Maizeville and East Town. Further, among Protestants there was higher frequency of participation in the white-collar group than in the blue-collar group with the exception of Service-

Table 5. Frequency of church attendance per year in per cent for Protestants and Catholics by type of center

•	Less than	Less than 12 times		12-40 times	41 times	41 times and over	Total	tal		~
Wea	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.
Maizeville	33.7	13.6	27.7	6.6	38.6	76.5	100.0	100.0	899	81
East Town	38.7	17.1	34.3	15.1	27.0	8.79	100.0	100.0	137	445
Coal Village	36.0	8.9	44.0	7.1	20.0	84.0	100.0	100.0	150	112
Serviceville	33.7	13.2	25.9	5.3	40.4	81.5	100.0	100.0	166	38
Elm Center	16.4	14.3	23.0	0.0	9.09	85.7	100.0	100.0	19	14
Rural farm population of 3 townships	34.8	17.6	33.7	5.9	31.5	76.5	100.0	100.0	359	15

by Protestants than any other center.7

(c) Frequency of attendance at "extrachurch" activities: Almost all the churches in the area included in this study held from time to time special "extrachurch" activities, such as bazaars, church dinners, special speakers, festivals, and the like. If historical records can be trusted, one would infer that in earlier periods such activities were very important, not only in the life of the church but also in the life of the community as a whole. The importance today appears to be less, as revealed in Table 6.

The data showed that these activities were much more important

Table 6. Frequency of attendance at "extrachurch" activities by type of center

Area						I	ess than 25%	25%- 74%	75% and over	Total	\mathcal{N}
Maizeville .	D			۰		0	63.5	20.7	15.8	100.0	927
East Town						0	41.8	22.1	36.1	100.0	721
Coal Village	0	٠			0		44.3	24.8	30.9	100.0	359
Serviceville							33.2	28.3	38.5	100.0	283
Elm Center						4	35.8	28.4	35.8	100.0	106
Rural farm	po	pu	lat	io	n	of					
3 township	s						47.2	20.7	32.1	100.0	535

ville. In that village, the evidence suggested that no differential exists. This finding was particularly interesting since Coal Village, comparable in population, had only three Protestant churches—Congregational, Methodist, and Wesleyan Methodist—while Serviceville had six—Baptist, Episcopal, Mennonite (General Conference), Mennonite (Old), Methodist, and Pentecostal. It appeared the greater the number of Protestant churches in a village the less the degree of differential between the two groups in "core" members, i.e., those who attend 41 times per year and more. The additional churches, requiring an increased number of people who are involved in the church organization, obviously had an effect on church membership patterns.

Although in many cases the sample was too small for statistical analysis, it appeared that blue-collar workers attended Protestant churches less frequently than white-collar members of the same church.

Among the Protestant churches in Maizeville, there was great variation in church attendance. The churches of Anglo-American origin (Baptist, Christian, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian) had significantly fewer "core" members than churches of Continental European origin for both social groups.

The very high participation among Protestants in the hamlet of Elm Center was atypical. It may possibly be largely accounted for by two factors. The first factor was the exceptional quality of the minister of the only church in the hamlet at the time this study was made. The second factor was the truncated character of social stratification in the hamlet. The overwhelming majority of the residents fell in the blue-collar classification employed in this study. It may be that over-all participation is higher in such instances.

in Catholic churches and in rural areas than in the larger communities

and among Protestants.

In the dominantly Protestant town of Maizeville, participation was very low among both Catholics and Protestants. In East Town, there was very high participation by Catholics, but there was very low participation by Protestants. All the smaller communities except Coal Village had higher Protestant participation than either Maizeville or East Town. Comparison of Coal Village and Serviceville data revealed that Serviceville had significantly higher attendance at extrachurch activities than Coal Village. As was the case with frequency of attendance data, the village with the larger number of Protestant churches had higher participation patterns.8

(d) Membership in voluntary associations: One of the phenomena of the American social scene in the past half-century or so has been the growth and proliferation of innumerable voluntary associations in the communities of the nation. Corn County has participated in this development. Some of the groups are special interest groups, but the majority are rather diffuse. Their primary function in many cases is to structure the manner in which leisure time may be employed for recreational purposes. All of these organizations competed with the churches for the leisure time of the inhabitants of Corn County. There were, however, a select few who provided the major support for the plethora of voluntary associations that exist in Corn County. About one-third of the people belonged to no voluntary associations;9 another 20 to 30 per cent belonged to only one. Maizeville, with the highest proportion of white-collar residents, had the highest participation in voluntary associations; the dominantly blue-collar hamlet of Elm Center had the lowest rate of participation. Nonparticipators tended to avoid all types of institutional involvements. Nonchurch members

"Data not reported here revealed that Maizeville had much lower Catholic participation at extrachurch activities than any of the other areas studied. Coal Village had lower participation than Serviceville. In the case of both Maizeville and Coal Village, the patterns for Catholic participation were lower than for the other towns in their population class. The dominant community attitude toward extrachurch activities seemed to affect Catholic participation in communities where Catholics were in a minority.

Among Protestants the white-collar group exhibited higher participation patterns than the blue-collar group in all the centers studied except Serviceville. Among Catholics there were no statistically significant variations for the various centers. Unfortunately, there were too few cases to permit a detailed analysis of Catholic participation patterns. The differential participation patterns in Coal Village and Serviceville were most interesting in that they tend to confirm the observations made earlier regarding the relationship between the number of churches in a village and the extent of participation by the various social groups. There was no evidence of differential participation for white-collar groups in the two communities; but there was evidence of higher blue-collar participation in Serviceville, the village with the larger number of Protestant churches.

In this analysis, church membership is not included among voluntary associations.

belonged to the fewest voluntary associations, while the Protestants belonged to the ${\rm most.}^{10}$

¹⁰Among the nonchurch members and among Catholics, there was no evidence to indicate variation in membership patterns by center. On the other hand, Maizeville had a significantly higher proportion of memberships in voluntary associations than any other center. However, the class selective character of membership in voluntary associations seems to account for the Maizeville situation. When white-collar Protestants were analyzed, it was found that there was no significant variation for them by type of center.

Significant variations among white-collar Protestants and Catholics were found in the dominantly Protestant county-seat town of Maizeville, but not in any of the other centers. The blue-collar group dominated the group that belonged to no voluntary association.

Although there were too few cases to treat each of the Protestant churches separately, the evidence available strongly suggested the class selective character of membership in voluntary associations in Maizeville within the same church groups.

Book Reviews

Adams, Richard N. Encuesta sobre la cultura de los ladinos en Guatemala. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educacion Publica, 1956. 288 pp.

No price given.

This is a Spanish translation by Joaquin Noval of the book Culture Survey of Central America, by Dr. Richard N. Adams, who lived in Guatemala for five years as an investigator of social anthropology. In this book he presents a panorama of the culture of the rural and semirural or semiurban ladinos of Guatemala. The information was obtained by means of interviews during the years 1950 to 1954.

The author analyzes the processes by which members of indigenous communities are integrating slowly into ladinos. This book is of great value not only for specialists but for all persons interested in knowing about the social realities in Guatemala.

LUIS MARTINEY-SANDIN

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Archer, Clifford P. Elementary Education in Rural Areas. New York: Ron-

ald Press, 1958. viii, 448 pp. \$5.00.

"Modern education is not simply a matter of training children; rather it is a problem of helping to build a school and community environment in which children, under guidance, can grow to be democratic in social relationships, familiar with the ways of collecting facts to solve problems, eager to carry a share of community responsibilities, appreciative of the best in life, and free to exercise the functions of responsible citizenship. The school, as part of the community, must share in community problems and community enterprises." To this end, Dr. Clifford Archer in *Elementary Education in Rural Areas* gives major attention to teaching methods and materials in each of the several traditional subject areas. He is constantly mindful of the needs and resources peculiar to rural schools, whether they have one or many teachers.

Dr. Archer's entire professional career has been spent in rural education, as teacher, administrator, and now chairman of the Department of Rural Education of the University of Minnesota. As a specialist in rural education in the Technical Cooperation Administration and now in the International

Center of his university, he has come to be a leader in world-wide concern for rural education. This interest is evident throughout his book, giving it

added timeliness and readability.

He is an educator, not a sociologist. To develop his dominant concept as to the role of the rural school, he has leaned heavily upon rural sociologists for guidance. Although his generalizations are broader, his illustrations tend to give the impression that agriculture is almost the sole source of uniqueness in rural life. This textbook should prove practical in any institution preparing teachers to go into rural communities, particularly those of the Middle West.

WM. McKINLEY ROBINSON

Department of Rural Life and Education Western Michigan University

Arriola, Jorge Luis, ed. Integracion social en Guatemala. Guatemala: Tipografia Nacional, 1956. 479 pp. No price given.

This book contains the papers and discussions read at the Seminar on Social

Integration in Guatemala, June 17 to June 23, 1956.

In it we find new formulations about aspects of the agricultural, cultural, economic, social, and political life of Guatemala. The material of analysis is valuable for a wider understanding of the problems of the Republic.

The process of social integration is reported in chapters about regional integration, integration of the social structure, integration of the economic system, and emergent national culture. They were written by well-known social anthropologists, economists, sociologists, and political scientists.

LUIS MARTINEY-SANDIN

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Barnett, H. G. Indian Shakers. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957. 378 pp. \$5.75.

This analysis of a messianic cult of Pacific Northwest Indians is a product of five years of intensive contacts with leaders, attendance at Shaker meetings, identification of attitudes, and retracing of ritualistic ceremonies as expressions of faith and doctrines.

The study recounts the death and the legendary resurrection of one John Slocum, who lived too sinfully to enter heaven and was remanded to life to teach the Indians to be good and to know the content of the Bible without having to read it. Later, Slocum became ill again. When his wife thought he would die, she began crying and washed her face in the water of a creek. Then she began to shake, which John interpreted as prophetic. Other versions call the man Louie, and recapitulate essentially the same story. These tales are vague, dramatizing sinful living, resurrection from death, miraculous healing, and shaking or trembling. Derived from Catholic and Protestant Christianity, these Shakers bear no connection with those of Pennsylvania. The faith combines many relatively imperfect imitations of several religions into a way of life hospitable to the uncritical minds of nonliterate and semiliterate peoples, although not always without frustrations.

Like many of the intuitively written monographs of cultural anthropologists, Indian Shakers contributes little of methodological value to sociological analysis, whatever the area. A cultural anthropologist is the only one who could restudy this same group without starting de novo. The facts given are of no peculiar significance to rural sociology. The main contribution of the work is (1) a vivid picture of the evolution of a folk culture pattern and (2) an "icing down" of lore into literature, wherein Barnett, in characteristic manner, is an artist of no mean talent.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

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Beyer, Glenn H. Housing: A Factual Analysis. New York: Macmillan, 1958. xxvi, 355 pp. \$8.95.

The author's frame of reference is largely, though not exclusively, one of economics. The scope of the volume is broad; the text contains twelve factual chapters, which are illustrated, supported, and supplemented by a heavy dosage of fact-packed tables, a series of in-the-lighter-vein drawings, as well as charts, maps, graphs, an excellent collection of photographs, and four

appendices.

This analytical narrative begins with people and ends with housing research needs. Housing demands are strongly influenced by such factors as the family life cycle, place of residence, income, and standard of living. These and other variables greatly affect the supply of housing at a given time and place. That economic complex loosely referred to as the home building industry is given careful treatment in an interesting manner. Then follows an enlightening chapter on housing finance, including that blessed American institution, the home mortgage. Trends in, costs of, and reasons for home ownership are ably analyzed. "Home ownership," Beyer notes, "does not appear to be an economic matter as much as it is a psychological or emotional one" (p. 167).

Next follows a chapter on the foundations of housing design—the family cycle, values, family activities, and styles. Standards for houses and neighborhoods are discussed imaginatively. Significantly Beyer observes, "Standards' should be the housing goals toward which a nation strives" (p. 202). He points out that many standards, including those enunciated by FHA, "reflect minimum rather than desirable goals." Urban renewal and the various government housing agencies and programs—FHA, VA, PHA, FNMA, etc.—are explained. Chapter 11, devoted exclusively to rural housing, contains data on trends and characteristics useful to those interested in rural problems. The concluding chapter considers the future housing needs of the nation and singles out a number of areas in which the need for additional research is indeed great.

This book will be very worthwhile to architects, city planners, realtors, builders, economists, home economists, and to others who attempt to grapple with the dynamics of housing.

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JAMES E. MONTGOMERY

Bogue, Donald J., ed. Applications of Demography; The Population Situation in the U.S. in 1975. Oxford, O.: Scripps Foundation, 1957. vi,

96 pp. \$2.10.

This is Number 13 of the Scripps Foundation series and is a joint publication of the Foundation and the Population Research and Training Center of the University of Chicago. It consists of papers delivered at the 1957 meeting of the Population Association of America. In Part I the uses of demographic data and concepts for family studies, market analyses, urban renewal, and city planning and government are presented along with a defense of the population dichotomy rural and urban, an appeal to study the population of small areas, and a thesis on the relationship between economic development and demographic trends. Part II consists of predictions about the population of the United States in 1975 in terms of size, regional location, color and nativity, residence, labor force, school attendance, housing, journey to work, traffic accidents, and old age.

In the first section the listing of articles is illustrative of the problems facing an editor of a collection of papers delivered at a convention. In the second section a major problem facing demographers lurks between the sentences and just fails articulation. The nub of the problem is the large number of projections of population which have been made, their failure to jibe with each other, and the woeful results of previous projections. The resulting doldrums seem to be subconsciously magnified by stray glances at the smoothly performed calculations of actuaries, which by comparison are so solid and

complete.

It is time for more demographers to recognize that all of their formulas are rooted in the sociopsychological principles of human motivation. Perhaps motives to avoid death are so fixed that actuaries can ignore them, but humans are not so definite and explicit when it comes to having children or changing their residences. Demographers will have to get used to this fact. Their formulas will continue to be based upon subjective evaluations of motives whether or not these are voiced by the projector. Consequently their projections will vary.

Once this is recognized, their unwarranted embarrassment can end. In terms of the problem, the projections are the most accurate obtainable.

Indeed it is a feat that they are as close as they are.

ROBERT HIRZEL

Department of Sociology University of Maryland

Brunner, Edmund des. The Growth of a Science. New York: Harper, 1957. x. 171 pp. \$3.00.

This 40,000-word essay constitutes a review of representative studies of rural society in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. The works considered are grouped under the following topics: community studies, population, social institutions, social organization, sociological aspects of economic problems, regionalism, suburbanism, trends, and values. The appendix is made up of a "bibliography of selected studies" dealing with foreign countries by Americans.

Obviously in a treatment of such limited scope only representative studies could be included. Even so, the index contains the names of 274 persons, and it is quite apparent that the author has made a conscientious examination of hundreds of published studies (he estimates from 1,500 to 1,600 in all), with Agricultural Experiment Station bulletins most often considered. There is, however, a generous sprinkling of references to articles published in *Rural Sociology*, and occasionally books are cited when they represent specific studies.

The book represents a prodigious amount of work, and all sociologists will be grateful for having it available for reference and for use in graduate seminars. A reader can hardly escape the feeling, however, that the author was writing with a sense of urgency or haste, as if to meet a deadline. Otherwise, with his wide background and the fact that he has been one of the most important builders of the discipline, he would surely have gone beyond the limits of space he set for himself. There is some evidence of haste also in the frequency of errors in spelling of names. This reviewer noted in passing the misspelling of eight names, wrong initials, at least one error in a title, and in one case an Agricultural Experiment Station bulletin attributed to the wrong state. These are minor items in an otherwise valuable work, written in the usual lively Brunner style. It is probably the herald of other similar works to come which will celebrate further the first half-century of rural sociology, an indigenous American discipline.

LOWRY NELSON

Department of Sociology University of Minnesota

Likert, Rensis, and Samuel P. Hayes. Some Applications of Behavioral Research. Paris: UNESCO (distributed by the Columbia University Press), 1957. 333 pp. \$3.25.

Some Applications of Behavioral Research is the second of a series published by UNESCO under the title Science and Society. The purpose of the series is to demonstrate the present and potential contributions of the social sciences to societal welfare. The present volume, however, appears to have a limited and specific objective, that of interesting the business community in psychological and sociological research. Even more specifically the objectives appear to be to get business (1) to use more extensively present social science concepts and empirical findings, (2) to employ social science techniques in studying their own organization, and (3) to interest business in contributing to basic research in industrial organization.

The book is composed of eight chapters: I is a brief discussion of research methods, II and III deal with problems of leadership and training of leaders, IV with effectiveness of researchers, V with foreign students, VI with group influence in marketing and public relations, VII with business surveys, and VIII is a discussion of the activities of the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior.

The general framework of the book is provided by reports from a series of seminars between social scientists and executives from large business organizations. Some of these seminar reports deal primarily with sociopsychological concepts while others are primarily reports from empirical research.

Since the book is written for business leaders, the evaluation of its effectiveness by a sociologist will leave something to be desired. The objectives seem worthwhile to the reviewer. The authors communicate very well, and much of the material presented is interesting. The first chapter is obviously written for the researcher rather than the executive, since it is a discussion of how researchers can communicate and work effectively with business management.

Although both the title and preface suggest that this is a volume dealing with the broad field of social science research, it is primarily a volume of psychological research. None of the seven authors is identified as a sociologist, and the one chapter ostensively approached from a sociological frame of reference deals with phenomena which sociologists would not consider among their more significant contributions to industrial sociology.

To this sociological reviewer this book appears to be a reasonably effective book for businessmen by psychologists concerning psychological concepts and

research.

F. IVAN NYE

Department of Sociology State College of Washington

Lively, Charles E., and Jack J. Preiss. Conservation Education in American Colleges. New York: Ronald Press, 1957. ix, 267 pp. \$5.00.

This first nationwide survey, sponsored by the Conservation Foundation, of conservation education in American colleges and universities provides information about institutions that do and do not teach conservation, the courses taught and their content, teachers and their attitudes, and administrators' attitudes and program plans. Most of the findings are summarized by types of schools so that differences and uniformities are clearly shown.

A major contribution of the study is a review of the evolution of the concept conservation and the construction of an operational definition apt for the present task. Constructed profiles of schools with weak, medium, and strong programs furnish an objective standard for judging the adequacy of programs. A concise enumeration of some of the implications of the findings is very provocative. Recommendations for action designed to improve conservation

education present challenging goals.

The study is a model of scientific reporting. The concepts are carefully defined; the methods and procedures are explicitly described; the three questionnaire forms used are in the appendix; the findings are summarized in tables and text; and the reader is advised of the limitations of the methods, procedures, and data. From the findings, teachers and administrators can readily learn what other schools of their type are doing. They can discover the range of programs already established. Conservation leaders can see their problems in a national perspective and plan the allocation of their resources more effectively.

It is almost quibbling, then, to find any fault with a study that forms a bench mark from which future progress in conservation education can be measured. But the brief history of the conservation movement does not mention the part amateur naturalists have played. The authors intentionally omit a review of the history of water conservation for reasons that do not "hold water" with the reviewer. Numerous as they are, more tables would make the reading of Part II easier.

Some of the findings obtained from the administrators' questionnaires seem to be based on misconceptions of conservation shared with the public. If so, teachers of integrated courses with titles and descriptions not explicitly naming conservation may never have received questionnaires nor have had their activities included in the data from administrators. In such courses, conservation-minded professors of literature, philosophy, history, sociology, home economics, physical education, and so on may be teaching more students more conservation than the teachers of integrated courses. If this assumption is sound, the survey underestimates the amount of conservation teaching.

This correction, however, would not change the basic picture of gross inadequacy. Almost half of the institutions responding do not teach conservation. At present, land-grant colleges and teachers colleges are doing the most effective job. In the four years since the data were gathered, there has been some improvement. By causing so many teachers and administrators to evaluate what they were doing, the survey may be responsible for part of it. The findings of this survey are so useful for motivation and diagnosis, one wishes it could be established as a periodic event.

MARY ALICE ERICSON

Department of Sociology Gustavus Adolphus College

Lystad, Robert A. The Ashanti: A Proud People. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1958. 212 pp. \$5.00.

This very readable ethnography describes the impact of social change upon an underdeveloped culture. The author reports his anthropological fieldwork among the Ashanti, a Negroid society in Ghana, Africa. This country, formerly the British Gold Coast, became independent from foreign rule in 1957. Lystad lived as a participant observer in a small rural community for a year in 1949–1950.

Using the traditional institutional approach, the writer describes the family, schools, health, government, economics, and religion of the Ashanti in succeeding chapters. The theme of social change can be traced like a red thread throughout the book. A subsistence gardening agriculture is giving way to an economy based upon commercial cocoa raising. Western missionary schools and churches are alienating the young people from traditional beliefs.

This account destroys many myths about African native cultures. It works hard to do so. The lack of recent anthropological descriptions of this part of the world make *The Ashanti* especially valuable. It is a description, however, and not an analysis of social change. Its readability and interesting presentation ideally fit it for the undergraduate interested in the agricultural mission fields, government technical assistance programs, for foreign rural development. As such, rural sociologists will find it useful as a case example of social change in an underdeveloped area.

EVERETT M. ROGERS

Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Ohio State University Rich, Mark. The Rural Church Movement. Columbia, Mo.: Juniper Knoll Press, 1957. ii, 251 pp. \$3.50.

Mark Rich has rendered a wonderful service to rural church leaders, present and future, in gathering together in this book a wealth of material concerning what has been done to promote the welfare of the town and country church. He has organized his ideas around the varying concepts of the church's relationship to the community.

The first period of the rural church movement he designates as the period of solidarity in which in a very real sense the church and the community were one. The second period was one of division and separation in which the denominations were involved in doctrinal controversy, and so the number of denominations at work in each community increased. Quite naturally, this period was followed by the third period in which the rural church declined in membership and influence. Of course, other factors entered into the situation—especially the decrease in population in many rural communities. The fourth period, which followed the report of the Theodore Roosevelt American Country Life Commission, has been characterized by an increasing spirit of co-operation between the church and the community. The author's outlook for the future is optimistic.

The Appendices contain much valuable reference material, the most interesting of which is the Historical Directory of Town and Country Church Departments.

C. MORTON HANNA

Department of Rural Church Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary

Sorokin, Pitirim A. Social and Cultural Dynamics. 1-vol. ed. Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1957. 718 pp. \$7.50.

This volume is Professor Sorokin's revised and abridged edition of his Social and Cultural Dynamics published in four volumes, 1937–1941. The objective is to reproduce verbatim and in exactly the same order the important parts of the more extensive work and to bring main trends and fluctuations up to date.

The abridgement consists in eliminating the following: (a) pages and paragraphs considered of secondary importance, (b) footnotes, (c) references and extensive bibliography, (d) appendixes and some statistical tables, (e) the first eleven chapters of the fourth volume. Revision of the original text is limited to (1) a basic bibliography, including up-to-date sources, of 218 entries, representing only a small fraction of the number cited in the earlier edition, and (2) a few short paragraphs intended to bring the development of main trends up to date.

Readers familiar with the *Dynamics* will find nothing new in this edition. Although the author boldly asserts that no modification in theoretical formulations is needed, some aspects of social relationships and systems analyzed may raise doubts. For example, fluctuations of internal disturbances, analyzed in part by quarter-century periods, are not described after 1925. Is it not conceivable that fluctuations of war and internal disturbances in the wake of world events since 1925 may make suspect a hypothesis such as the follow-

ing? "It is clear that war, as such, no matter whether successful or not, is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for starting or reinforcing internal disturbances. Conversely, an important internal disturbance is neither necessary to start a war nor sufficient to start or greatly to increase one" (p. 598). Changes in a number of social systems, analyzed in part by twenty-year periods, since 1920 are not described. Even less convincing as an instance of bringing the analysis of trends in the Western sociocultural world up to date is a two-page sketch of recent and current transformations in the fields of science, philosophy, fine arts, religion, ethics, and politics. The conclusion: "In accordance with my diagnosis and prognosis in the original four-volume edition of this work published 1937–41, the central process for the last few decades has consisted in: a) the progressive decay of sensate culture, society, and man; and b) the emergence and slow growth of the first components of the new—ideational or idealistic—sociocultural order" (p. 703, author's italics).

For readers, particularly graduate students, who are being introduced to Professor Sorokin's sociological approach to history, analysis of culture, and theories of social change, this volume will be welcomed as a convenient summary of his efforts to describe basic forms and processes and to arrive at generalizations. These readers will meet a mind that is among masters of sociological theory, and stimulating ideas are in store for them. However, this reviewer is constrained to warn of the necessity for attempting to understand the author's particular scale of values and for recognizing strong personal biases reflected in kind of data used and the conclusions drawn.

HENRY L. ANDREWS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology University of Alabama

Taeuber, Conrad, and Irene B. Taeuber. The Changing Population of the United States. New York: Wiley, 1958. xi, 357 pp. \$7.75.

In this volume of the Census Monograph Series, the Taeubers present a resumé of the demographic changes that the United States has experienced from 1790 to the present. Their study represents a departure from the format of the others in this series, which deal intensively with one aspect of the population of the United States, and resembles the great number of state and regional studies of population that have been made in increasing numbers over the past decade.

The analysis is presented in four major sections. In the first, growth and geographic expansion, changes by age and sex, immigration, internal migration, and changes in distribution by type of residence are discussed. In the second, changes in marital status, household and family composition, education, and the economic activities of the population are described. A chapter presenting the sociodemographic correlates of 1949 income is also included. The third section deals with natural increase and contains a chapter each on the trends and differentials of fertility and mortality. In the last section, one chapter explores the interrelationships of fertility, mortality, and migration in producing the differential growth of the individual states, and the last chapter draws upon recent Census Bureau projections for a look into the nation's demographic future.

Much of the material, particularly that for individual states and regions, is presented in graphic form, keeping to a minimum in the analysis the details which might overwhelm the reader. The authors provide a minimum but useful guide to the growing scope and to the changing concepts of census items.

This volume presents nothing particularly new either methodologically or substantively, for, as the authors state, they "have relied heavily on analysis that others have made of the past and the present." However, when one considers the vast accumulation of information represented by seventeen decennial censuses, the annual production of the Census Bureau and of the National Office of Vital Statistics, as well as the work of scores of scholars of the past sixty years, the task of organizing and presenting a clear and adequate account of our national population growth appears formidable indeed. The authors have accomplished this task admirably and have produced a volume which should be of great value to all the readers of this journal.

ROBERT G. BURNIGHT

Department of Rural Sociology University of Connecticut

Woofter, Thomas J. Southern Race Progress. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. x, 180 pp. \$3.50.

This little volume condenses into a very effective statement the progress made in Southern race relations for a period of over fifty years, presenting the story in the framework of the author's personal history. Some of the important facets of the historical account are the long battle against violence; the rise and decline of the sharecropper; the migration of the Negro to cities, especially to Northern cities; the segregation that occurred in the cities following this migration; the disadvantaged position of the Negro during the depression; and the increased employment of the Negro following the first years of World War II. The outstanding part of this history, however, is the chapter "Helping Hands for the South," which is concerned with Negro education.

The treatment of separate but still unequal educational facilities indicates continuous progress; indeed the author suggests that progress was so rapid that the concensus of opinion was that if the South could have been given another ten years it would have made good on its commitment to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes. At this point, however, the Supreme Court ruled that "true equality cannot be obtained in separate facilities because the enforced separation affixes a badge of inferiority and destroys some of the incentive to learn," with the result that "the white people of the Deep South are determined to cling to their separate schools as long as possible and the Negroes feel equally as strongly that they, with the backing of the courts, can force a relaxation of the segregation barriers. These are hard facts which must be realized by all concerned."

Three basic types of segregation are delineated. The first is associated with geographic or economic differences; the second is the result of like people seeking association with each other; the third is by law and custom, which decree separate facilities for services to which a person should be entitled as an American citizen.

In the area of legal segregation the problem becomes serious, particularly in the desegregation of schools, which involves an element of compulsion. It is this consideration that makes it particularly difficult for the conservative Southerner to accept enforced mixture in the schools.

Building on his experience with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the South, the author concludes with a discussion of the way to harmony. Whenever serious racial controversy has occurred in the South, three groups have usually appeared: the protesters, the conservatives, and the moderates. Much of the progress that has taken place may be the results of efforts by the latter group. While recognizing that progress may in part be attributed to population shifts to the cities and to the prosperity of the national economy, there has been an increase in tolerance, a closing of the gap between the status of the races, and the growing acceptance of Negro progress as a matter of justice. There is available a large and growing body of moderate community leaders, especially young ones, that can do a great deal to bring about an orderly and effective approach to the problems presented by desegregation.

In a way the author presents us with the perennial question of whether solutions to social problems are the result of forces—economic, geographic, and the like,—over which men consciously exercise very little control or are brought about by conscious efforts, particularly, of the moderates who actively seek to solve problems through co-operation. Obviously, there is no either-or answer. It can be assumed that the author is essentially stating the case for the role of self-conscious effort. Certainly, books of this type, in which the personal experience of persons involved in problem situations is accompanied by well-established facts and careful analysis, perform a real service by helping people, whether immediately involved in a problem or concerned about it at a distance, to understand more fully the nature of social change.

FRANK D. ALEXANDER

New York State Extension Service Cornell University

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Cole, William E. Urban Society. Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1958. 3, 591 pp. \$6.50.
- Coult, Lyman H., Jr. An Annotated Bibliography of the Egyptian Fellah.

 Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1958. v, 144 pp. No price given.
- DeFleur, Melvin L., and Otto N. Larsen. The Flow of Information. New York: Harper, 1958. xvii, 302 pp. \$4.50.
- International Labour Office. International Directory of Co-operative Organizations. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1958. xv, 213 pp. \$2.00.
- International Labour Office. The I. L. O. in a Changing World. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1958. 1, 127 pp. \$1.00.
- Landis, Paul H. Social Living. Boston, Mass.: Ginn, 1958. ix, 452 pp. \$440.
- Long, John. Modern Russia. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958. xi, 180 pp. \$6.00.

- Marchwardt, Albert H. American English. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. xi, 194 pp. \$4.50.
- Ogburn, William F., and Meyer F. Nimkoff. Sociology (3d ed.). Boston:
 "Houghton Mifflin, 1958. x, 756 pp. \$6.95.
- Phelps, Harold A., and David Henderson. Population in Its Human Aspects. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958. xvi, 512 pp. \$6.00.
- Sargent, S. Stansfeld, and Robert C. Williamson. Social Psychology (2d ed.). New York: Ronald Press, 1958. x, 649 pp. \$6.00.
- Saskatchewan, Province of, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life. 13. Farm Income. Regina, Sask.: Queen's Printer, 1957. xx, 451 pp. \$1.00.
- Service, Elman R. A Profile of Primitive Culture. New York: Harper, 1958. xiv, 474 pp. \$6.00.
- Stein, Herman D., and Richard A. Cloward, eds. Social Perspectives on Behavior. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. xix, 666 pp. \$7.50.
- Wheeler, Wayne, ed. The Other-Directed Man: Concept and Reality. Parkville, Mo.: Park College Press, 1958. 34 pp. \$1.50.

Selected Rural Fiction in 1957

Well-known names are frequent among the authors of rural novels in 1957. Here and there an author, new to these annual lists, contributes an unusually refreshing book. Altogether, it has been a pleasant year for those who follow rural fiction from month to month.

Byron, Gilbert. The Lord's Oysters. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown. 330 pp. Without plot but full of incident and with acute if oblique character drawing, and continuous underlying humor, this novel is redolent of the life of the river and the river villages in the slow-moving Eastern Shore of Maryland early in the 1900's. The story is told by an artless lad in the vernacular of that place at that time.

Carroll, Gladys Hasty. Sing Out the Glory. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown. 370 pp.

Solidity characterizes this latest of Mrs. Carroll's rural novels, which is woven of the mild and somewhat sentimental local lore of a New England valley and the expanding history of our whole country. When the relating child reaches adulthood, the story comes to life, and the reader's interest quickens.

Chase, Mary Ellen. Edge of Darkness. New York: Norton. 235 pp.

Miss Chase needs no introduction to users of these lists. In this tender and perceptive review of the long life of a seafaring wife and her later years in a remote fishing village in Maine, Sarah Holt's death marks the proverbial end of an era.

Deal, Borden. Dunbar's Cove. New York: Scribner. 433 pp.

Conveying vividly (although with some blemishes) the sweep, enthusiasm, and excitement of the TVA experiment, this author gives dual insight: the staunch loyalty to land and holdings among deep-rooted mountain people; and the ardent, apostle-like devotion of many TVA workers to the giant undertaking and its ultimate benefits to the people.

Doan, Daniel. Amas Jackman. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press. 312 pp.
This moving story describes the fate of farmers and farm life when industry invades the hill country of New Hampshire in the 1930's.

Giles, Janice Holt. The Believers. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin. 302 pp.

Here is another authentic story by a careful yet prolific writer. Around 1800 the Shakers, as they are usually known, founded two strict settlements in

Kentucky. Rural folk mostly were attracted. This is an absorbing account of daily life in one of the settlements and its effect on individuals and families who cast their all into the enterprise—or found they could not do so.

Hill, Pati. The Nine Mile Circle. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin. 172

pp.

Written in a modern style that is stimulating to some and irritating to others, these disjointed chapters give a unique looking-glass reflection of a set of persons and situations essentially true in the rural or semirural Deep South of yesterday and today. The idiom is effective, and the oblique characterization is almost visual.

Keyes, Frances Parkinson. Blue Camellia. New York: Julian Messner. 432

pp.

This novel is entered here because it describes the breeding, growing, milling, and distribution of rice in pioneer southwestern Louisiana around Crowley near the turn of the century. The account is fictionized to include interwoven romance. Cajun lore is also included.

Richter, Conrad. The Lady. New York: Knopf. 191 pp.

This polished gem of a story is a selection from the chronicle of the regal family in New Mexico on their great Spanish grant of land sixty years ago. Showing, as it does, their power over peons and their potent local influence, it should appeal to those interested in rural social history. A shadow of melancholy, mysterious and baffling, contrasting with the brilliant coloring of the Southwest, foretells a certain inherent tragedy of time, people, and place.

Tabor, Gladys. Mrs. Daffodil. Philadelphia, Pa.: Lippincott. 284 pp.

Listed as a novel, this series of sketches is full of humor and compassion. It recites the experiences of two contemporary ladies in New England who by preference live deep in the country. But friends in numbers find them out. It is a Mary-and-Martha arrangement that seems to succeed. And dogs are everywhere.

Williams, Vinnie. The Fruit Tramp. New York: Harper. 247 pp.

Not before have the itinerant workers of the East, who follow crops from Florida to Maine, been well reported. Fresh and remarkably informed, even to details along the way, but with emphasis on Florida, this vividly humanized and unpretentious fictional document is a lively contribution. It is built around a growing boy and his unique uncle.

Bulletin Reviews

Anderson, Walfred A. The Characteristics of New York State Population. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 925; Ithaca, N. Y., Feb., 1958. 72 pp.

Characteristics of the population of New York State as of 1950 are analyzed in this report, which is a sequel to an earlier Experiment Station bulletin on this topic using data for 1940. The United States census of population for 1950 is the chief source of data for the following descriptive categories: race and nativity; place of birth; sex; residence; age; marital status; mobility; schooling; employment status and occupations; and families. The procedure is designed to clarify differences in the characteristics of the population (1) within New York State and (2) between the state and the United States as a whole. Relative data are used for most of the comparisons although many absolute data are also presented. Some of the categories of data are analyzed for a period of several recent decades, thus supplementing the author's earlier report Population Trends in New York State, 1900 to 1950.

A combined table of contents and summary makes the findings of this report readily accessible to the reader. Suggestions for interpretation of the results are, however, quite limited and very brief. Some of the significant

findings are:

 The nonwhite population of the state has steadily increased over the last few decades.

The ratio of males to females in the state has declined for each race and nativity group.

3. As a result of internal migration, New York State has experienced a slight net loss in native-American population but a pronounced net gain in the nonwhite segment of the population.

In recent decades urban growth has been slowing down while the rate
of growth in the rural population of the state has increased significantly,

chiefly in the nonfarm segment.

5. Of the population increase from 1900 to 1950, 95 per cent was in the state's seven metropolitan areas and only 5 per cent in the nonmetropolitan areas; 59 per cent of it was in New York City, and 76.2 per cent was in the New York metropolitan area.

The age distribution of the population of New York State resembles closely that of the United States as a whole.

Although the state has relatively more single persons than does the population of the United States as a whole, the proportions of both sexes married shows steady increase since 1900.

Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

 From 1949 to 1950 the people of New York State were residentially more stable than those of the nation as a whole.

9. The average size of New York State families is 3.4 persons (type of

average not indicated).

One error in statement of fact was noticed: "The total white population has become a relatively small proportion of the State's total population" (p. 10 and summary, p. 2). Inspection of the data reveals that the word "small" in this statement should read "smaller." The introductory remarks indicate that reproduction rates are discussed, but the reviewer found no data on reproduction and only one general reference to this aspect of the population of New York State. This report is a valuable addition to the growing number of studies analyzing the population of the various states.

HENRY L. ANDREWS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology University of Alabama

Bertrand, Alvin L. Trends and Patterns in Levels of Living of Farm Families in the U.S. USDA Agr. Inf. Bull. 181; Washington, D.C.: Agricultural

Marketing Service, 1958. 22 pp.

Based on a co-operative survey of farmers' expenditures made by the USDA and the Bureau of the Census in February, 1956, this bulletin supersedes Trends in Selected Facilities Available to Farm Families (USDA Agr. Inf. Bull. 87). It amplifies somewhat the Hagood Index studies. It does not treat singly the sales value of farm products but projects the Hagood Index as a whole.

In 1935 the question "Can every farm home in the United States have electricity by 1960?" seemed fantastic. Today 94 per cent of all farmers have electricity (91 per cent in the South and 97 per cent elsewhere), and that does not count other open-country homes with it. It is not impossible that all farmers may have electricity by 1960. Adoption trends for mechanical refrigeration, television, and home freezers have surpassed that of electricity on farms since 1940 and 1950.

Running water became available on farms more rapidly than electricity prior to 1930, but slowed down afterwards. However, it has expanded rapidly since 1945. Electricity and water are the two basic utilities needed in farm homes, and their spread will accelerate that of others; both are sources of power, a major human concern in all ages. Water is expensive in many farming areas. Individuals must supply it, while collective effort provides electricity.

Use of the automobile has reached a plateau, partly due to the substitution of trucks and commercial conveyances, such as the school bus, for the family car. However, since 1950 its incidence on farms has increased twice as rapidly as in the previous twenty years. Farm telephones declined from 1920 to 1940, but experienced a vigorous revival recently.

The over-all level-of-living index has risen rapidly in all regions since 1930 and especially since 1940. The South lags behind the nation as a whole, but

follows an index pattern similar to that of the country at large.

The ownership of most of the distinctive farm facilities varies directly with education. The percentage of ownership deviates sometimes positively and sometimes negatively as age of family heads rises.

One wonders what modifications the use of the Hagood Index will require when some of its factors become universal, and hence nonselective, or some of the items become obsolete. Apparently, we must find other socioeconomic factors capable of differentiating farm families in the future. The analytical and predictive value of any facility must diminish as it reaches either zero or 100 per cent as a limit. For the present, however, this bulletin affords a discerning outline of trends in patterns of cultural dissemination on American farms.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Department of Sociology and Rural Life Oklahoma State University

Hartford, Margaret E., and Grace L. Coyle. Social Process in the Community and the Group. New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1958. 89

This publication contains two papers authored by instructors in social work of the School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve University. A grant from the Russell Sage Foundation for a three-year collaborative project in social science and social work provided assistance for preparation and publication of the bulletin. The papers are regarded as "guides to social work educators interested in the construction and content of courses on social and group processes."

The first paper, by Margaret E. Hartford, is a compendium of her course entitled "Social Process I: Sociocultural and Economic Content." All the subject matter in this course, except that with special application to social work, would be found in an introductory course in sociology. Some of the topics are "The Nature of Culture," "Social Stratification," "The Family and the Social Structure," and "Income Levels and Standards of Living."

Grace L. Coyle prepared the second paper "as a working document" for the Council on Social Work Education. It is concerned with "the group process as related to work with individuals,...the case conference and the interdisciplinary team,...community organization and administration,... teaching and learning,...theory on the small group,...and the social work curriculum." The appendices of this paper present an outline of the course, Social Process II, which presumably is taught by Professor Coyle.

Perhaps the major value of this pamphlet to rural sociologists is an indication of material from sociology and social psychology which is being utilized in teaching social work. One might also hope that the concerns expressed might stimulate rural sociologists to intensify basic research on rural groups.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN

Department of Sociology and Rural Life Mississippi State College

Hoffer, Charles R., and Dale Stangland. Farmers' Reactions to New Practices.
 Michigan Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bull. 264; East Lansing, Feb., 1958. 35 pp.
 The purpose of this study was to find the extent to which a selected sample of farmers knew of and used approved practices in corn growing and what factors of a personal and social nature were associated with using or failing to

use such practices. Data were secured from 93 farmers residing in a selected trade area in central Michigan. All farmers who were growing five or more acres of corn in the area were interviewed.

Although the authors claimed special attention to attitudes and values, the former seem to have been more neglected in the analysis than the data seem to warrant. The important contributions of the study stem from the analysis of selected values in relation to the adoption of corn growing practices recommended by the Agricultural Extension Service and from the approach used. Models indicative of the presence or absence of values—which the authors referred to as efficiency, self-reliance, progress, security, and conservatism—were used. Each farmer (exposed in turn to the descriptive constructs) was required to indicate whether he considered himself like or unlike the model farmer described. No objective tests were made to determine whether farmers had or did not have the value being considered. Apparently no attempt was made to establish whether there was general agreement regarding values depicted in the descriptive constructs. The constructs were assumed to portray the value they were purported to indicate.

Despite the fact that the values considered in a sense insured the results obtained, the authors demonstrated an approach to the measurement of values that should be viewed carefully by those contemplating further research of this nature. As studies are extended, researchers should look for values of a more definitive nature than conservatism, efficiency, and the like and should be careful to conceptualize and define attitudes, values, and "so-called" behavioral tendencies in researchable terms.

Readers who may disagree with the names given descriptive constructs and the inferences drawn from the statements elicited in relation thereto are at liberty to make their own interpretations. The authors have included a detailed listing of responses and classifications used. Another feature in the analysis that is worthy of mention is the manner in which the authors classified farmers with respect to their position in the adoption sequence. Their classification scheme could be used to extend (1) analyses of influences operating in farmers' decisions to change farm practices, (2) analyses of the significance of the order in which the changes occur, and (3) analyses of the manner in which people at different stages influence each other in the changes in farm practices made.

HERBERT F. LIONBERGER

Department of Rural Sociology University of Missouri

Kolb, J. H. Neighborhood-Family Relations in Rural Society. Wisconsin Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 201; Madison, May, 1957. 24 pp.

This important bulletin is a summary of a generation of sociological studies of a single county. The subtitle indicates in a general way its nature and scope: "A Review of Trends in Dane County, Wisconsin, Over a 35-Year Period." The neighborhood structure of Dane County has been analyzed in detail through field studies for each ten-year interval from 1920–1921 through 1950–1951.

Each of these investigations embodied some special interest, but the central core of each was a study of the neighborhood structures in the county. This

summary is important methodically as well as substantively because it represents one of the few longitudinal studies in sociological literature. The study is divided into two main parts: (1) neighborhood structures—persistence, change and trends—and (2) the family, specifically in terms of "neighborhood influence on families."

During the 35-year period, 126 neighborhoods have been identified. In the first study, 1920–1921, there were 95 identified, but in the last study only 59 were delineated. On the other hand, it is pointed out that 48 out of the 59 identified in 1950–1951 had persisted throughout the period of analysis. Thus the twin trends of (a) a relatively slow decrease but also (b) a hard core of persisting neighborhoods are in evidence and characterize the changes in Dane County. The smaller neighborhoods and those in close proximity to villages and towns have tended to disappear. Active neighborhoods, according to the author, "are functions of (a) interaction—personal contacts in combination; (b) size—number of families; (c) place—proximity, vicinity; (d) time—persistence, continuity; (e) interdependence—recognized relationships with other groups" (p. 11).

The 59 neighborhoods identified in the 1950–1951 study embraced approximately one-half of the geographical area of Dane County. A random sample of families was studied in order to determine the effects of living within or living outside the delineated neighborhoods. From this analysis one major conclusion stands out—those families living within neighborhoods had higher social participation scores than those that were not encompassed by neighborhood boundaries. A subsidiary conclusion, but nevertheless important both in terms of method and substance, is that those families living within neighborhood boundaries regarded themselves as being related to the neighborhood in

some way.

Rural sociologists who have followed the materials flowing from the previous studies of Dane County will welcome this significant summary by Kolb.

SELZ MAYO

Department of Rural Sociology North Carolina State College

McNamara, Robert L., and Edward W. Hassinger. Extent of Illness and the Use of Health Services in a South Missouri County. Missouri Agr. Expt. Sta., Res. Bull. 647; Columbia, Jan., 1958. 26 pp.

This bulletin is another in a long series of publications dealing with health and health care in Missouri. It was hypothesized that (1) the provision of health services varies with the cultural areas of the state and (2) the attitudes of acceptance or rejection of scientific medical services by rural people are related to their degree of isolation. On the basis of previous research which delineated "areas of rural homogeneity," this study was located in Laclede County, which was selected as being representative of twenty counties in one of these cultural areas.

Information is given on the extent of illness, the use of health services, and the cost and methods of paying for hospital care. The study, conducted in the fall of 1955, was based on interviews with a random sample of 152 households comprising 532 individuals, and information on patients discharged from the hospital over a three-month period. Data provide valuable informa-

tion for local health programs and personnel in addition to providing an on-going assessment of health conditions in the area. Probably of greater sociological interest, however, will be the future comparison of this study with similar studies in other cultural areas of the state.

Some of the major findings are as follows: Disabling illness, hospital care, and physician care were concentrated in a few households. Illness rates were highest among older people and households whose female head had a limited education. Doctors' calls were highest in households with the highest income and the highest education of the female head. Chronic illness was more prevalent in the older age groups, households whose heads had the least schooling, and the lower-income groups.

About 10 per cent of the population had been hospitalized during the past year, and about one-half of the patients had hospital insurance. Discharged patients without insurance were much more likely to have delinquent bills than were those with insurance. Inclusion of data on discharged patients is a commendable aspect of the study. This not only provides a check on the sample but is useful information.

Another desirable feature of the report is the inclusion of the field schedule in the Appendix. This enables others to use the schedule for comparative studies.

By defining illness as disabling illness, a large volume of sickness is automatically excluded, both of an acute and a chronic nature. Therefore, the study actually underestimates the extent of illness in the population. The importance of this omission may be of greater concern when making comparisons between socioeconomic groups as well as between cultural areas. One other weakness of the study, which may have been handled in the instructions to the interviewers, is the definition of chronic illness. It is regarded as "a more generalized condition of disability and partial disability. Persons who are chronically ill may be intermittently ill and at times may be well enough to carry on their usual work. Their impairments or deviations from normal are permanent and leave residual disabilities." The definition lacks specificity either for field or office use.

SHELDON G. LOWRY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology Michigan State University

Maitland, Sheridan T., and Dorothy Anne Fisher. Area Variations in the Wages of Agricultural Labor in the United States. USDA Tech. Bull. 1177; Washington, D.C.: Agricultural Marketing Service, March, 1958. 54 pp. The 1950 and 1954 Censuses of Agriculture made available a considerable amount of data by 361 state economic areas, which permitted a fresh effort to find explanations for the geographic variations of farm wages using smaller geographic units than generally was possible earlier.

The first half of the report studies for the United States as a whole the relationships between composite farm wage rates and 16 factors which might be expected to "explain" the geographic wage variations. Five of these factors are related to farm labor supply, eight have a bearing on the demand for farm labor, while three are measures of the farmers' ability to pay hired farm workers. As would be expected, wages are generally higher where labor supply

is scarce, demand is high, and farmers' ability to pay is large. This portion of the report reworks with new data an approach that is well established. The new data reveal a recent partial breakup of the concentric wage bands increasing from southeast to northwest which have characterized our agricul-

tural wage structure for many decades.

The new system of 13 large economic regions, delineated on the basis of economic characteristics and subdivided into 361 homogeneous state economic areas, and the availability of recent census data on this basis enabled the authors to make a careful study of the association of farm wage rates with the 16 factors mentioned above within each of the major economic regions as well as the association of these factors between regions. The second half of the bulletin probes into this problem further than has been possible previously. Partial and multiple correlation as well as analysis of covariance are the techniques used.

The results are rather disappointing to one who looks for a generalized explanation of geographic wage variations. Both the degree of association (correlation) and the nature of the relationship (slope of the regression) between wages and the selected measures of supply and demand vary from region to region. For example, higher values of product per farm are associated with high wages in most areas, but in the upper Great Lakes and Rocky Mountain regions the opposite is the case, while in some regions there is no significant relationship either way. Such a divergent picture makes us realize that our wage theory is still inadequate. The authors can only conclude, "Sharp variations exist in the characteristics of factors underlying these local

and regional differentials."

This is a careful description of a highly complex set of relationships, and the authors are to be congratulated on painstaking analysis of the new data available. The statistical analysis measures up to the high standards we have come to expect in these technical bulletins. My major criticism is one which, perhaps necessarily, is true of so many government publications: the theoretical framework and interpretation of the results are largely omitted. For example, in looking for a measure of labor demand one would have expected some measure of productivity per worker but instead a measure of output per farm is used. The value of this measure in the usual theoretical model is highly restricted. Such theoretical questions are not discussed, and the reader is the poorer for it, since he is deprived of important contributions which able government writers might be making. I appreciate greatly the careful work being done in these technical bulletins and the data which they make available, but I would also point out the larger and important areas of generalization into which they venture but rarely.

WILLIS D. WEATHERFORD

Department of Economics Swarthmore College

Metzler, William H., and Ward F. Porter. Employment and Underemployment of Rural People in the Upper Monongahela Valley, West Virginia. West Virginia Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 404, in co-operation with Agricultural Research Service, USDA; Morgantown, June, 1957. 69 pp. This report is the middle one of three dealing with the availability for

employment, extent of employment and underemployment, and potentialities for employment in this ten-county area, selected as representative for all of West Virginia. Nonfarm employment (over one-fifth of it in the bituminous coal industry) has been declining in the state since 1948, reaching a low point in 1954, when the USDA-drawn sample of 914 open-country households was interviewed, yielding usable data from 875 households.

One-third of these households were located on farms; half of this third had gross farm sales of less than \$250. Only 5 per cent of the households in the area depended on agriculture alone. Of the persons available for work during the twelve months prior to the survey date, about one-third had done no work; at the other extreme, almost one-fourth had worked 300 days or more. Those seeking nonfarm work were willing to go outside the area for employment.

Similar survey results from eastern Kentucky and southeastern Oklahoma show that nonfarm workers are willing to leave the area to do nonfarm work. The people on farms in each area were much less willing to do so. The authors conclude that the development of local industries, or bringing in of new ones, is much to be preferred to outmigration of the underemployed workers. The evidence for this conclusion is to be presented in the next bulletin of this series.

MERTON D. OYLER

Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Ohio State University

Stone, Carol Larson, and Walter L. Slocum. A Look at Thurston County's Older People. Washington Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 492; Pullman, May, 1957. 54 pp.

Along with the increase in the percentage of older people in the population has come increasing public concern with the situation and problems of the aged. This has stimulated considerable research focused on older people. In this bulletin, Stone and Slocum report on older persons' "living arrangements, use of time, and patterns of social participation." Data are obtained from a sample, stratified by residence, of persons in Thurston County aged sixty-five or over. While the authors should be commended for the care exercised in drawing the sample, their inability to obtain interviews from 19 per cent of the sample owing to illness, preoccupation, absence, and outright refusal introduces the possibility of considerable bias in the findings.

Age, sex, residence, and other characteristics of the persons interviewed are described, together with their general health, economic circumstances, housing and home facilities, transportation, use of time, social adjustment, and felt needs. Where it is deemed appropriate, differences are shown by sex, residence, and whether or not the respondent is a recipient of old-age

assistance.

In the authors' words,

The picture of the aging population...that emerges...shows most of them well-housed, adequately provided with modern facilities and home conveniences, and with reasonably adequate incomes. Most of them seem to have ample interests to occupy leisure hours, and most of them apparently have worked out satisfactory social adjustments. In general, they appear to rely on themselves and do not look to others to solve their problems....A minority [however] were leading lonely, miserable lives

with barely enough economic resources at their disposal to keep body and soul together.

To what extent the generally optimistic tone of this report is biased owing to selectivity as to the persons interviewed or the fortuitous selection of the

survey county cannot be determined easily.

The authors express the hope that the information obtained "will be of interest and use...to other communities searching for answers to questions about their aging population" and suggest that the study provides "leads" which other communities could follow in examining the circumstances of their own older people. To this end the authors summarize the principal findings and present what they consider to be some important implications for action with regard to leisure time activities, housing, transportation, and financial support of older people. Unfortunately, however, the authors have not assumed any of the responsibility for showing to what extent the county and its older people are typical of those in the state or of certain areas within it.

Since other studies with this focus may be contemplated, it is perhaps worthwhile to note some of the limitations imposed by the narrow scope of this study and the limited analysis performed. This analysis is largely descriptive—sex, residence, and old-age assistance status serve as the primary bases for explaining differences. However, much more might be given concerning the factors contributing to satisfactory adjustment of older people who differ as to health, family circumstances, education, and the like. Such information is particularly important for programs of assistance to older people.

Doubtless the problems and circumstances of older people as they see them are of prime importance; yet, when a study is confined to their views, the information provided is inevitably incomplete and one-sided. The younger generations, the sons and daughters with whom the senior citizens have social relationships, and the organizations and institutions in which the latter participate also contribute to the situation in which older people find themselves and indeed to their views of themselves. A balanced picture of the place of the older people in our communities cannot be gained until the views of the "significant others" are obtained.

C. MILTON COUGHENOUR

Department of Rural Sociology University of Kentucky

Warren, Roland. "Old Age in a Rural Township," in Age Is No Barrier. Newburgh, N. Y.: New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, 1952. 171 pp.

Farming in the Later Years. Newburgh, N. Y.: The Committee,

1958. 5 pp.

These are significant publications in several ways. First, they represent two more Alfred area studies carried on by Warren and his students at Alfred University and as such demonstrate how an undergraduate sociology course of instruction can be improved with basic research activities. Secondly, they are studies on retired farmers, and thirdly, they were published by a state legislative committee with the implications for possible action that this implies.

The Alfred University area studies concern parts of Steuben, Allegany, and Livingston counties around Hornell in New York State. The earlier study was of 23 retired farmers who had moved to villages. This project showed

 There was a great deal of loneliness and a need felt for companionship among older farmers who had moved to town.

Physical weakness was more important than age itself in determining when to leave the farm.

3. Farmers by and large were not financially prepared for retirement.

 The move from farm to village seemed to be less of an adjustment for the wife than for the husband since she still had a household to keep her occupied.

5. Many of the farmers would have preferred to remain longer on the

The later study was of 66 farmers, sixty-five years or older, who remained on their farms. Some of the findings were:

 Fifty-six per cent have cut down on farm operations within the last ten years due to advancing age.

Thirty-six per cent thought they would have to cut down more as time goes by.

3. Thirty-eight per cent reported major reductions in size of farms.

4. Twenty-four per cent had sold major portions of their land.

Fifty-three per cent answered that they were not as active in social functions as formerly.

6. Thirty-four per cent are using more labor-saving devices.

More than 75 per cent were satisfied with farm living and have thus chosen to remain on the farm rather than move to the town later on.

Forty-six per cent of the farmers received all of their income from the farm operation.

9. Seventeen per cent receive social security benefits.

The way of life of farming and the fact that modern urban conveniences can be had on the farm has helped to keep these farmers on the land and 80 per cent would stay there if they had to do it over again.

WALTER E. BOEK

Executive Office New York State Department of Health

Weatherford, Willis D., Jr. Geographic Differentials of Agricultural Wages in the United States. (Harvard Studies in Labor in Agriculture.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957. 99 pp.

This monograph is an attempt to explain the geographic differences in farm wage rates. The pattern of farm wage rate is described, and factors such as labor productivity, labor supply and demand, and various demographic characteristics and vital rates are examined to discover their effect on farm wages. The approach is within the framework of classical economics; the data are taken largely from the 1945 Census of Agriculture and are supplemented by historical statistics and special reports of the USDA. Among the conclusions: (1) The geographic pattern of farm wage rates coincides with the pattern of labor productivity on farms; (2) the most pervasive factor in

determining wage rates is the supply of labor; (3) supply of labor is, in turn, closely related to population density and fertility ratios; (4) migration has a larger influence on farm labor supply in those areas that are most highly industrialized.

Weatherford has made ingenious use of the data available to him. To note that the data are not always adequate to answer the questions posed is no criticism of the research. However, this does force the author to use some rather indirect measures, particularly in the case of labor productivity, and to combine data from several different base periods for the analysis of certain factors, e.g., migration differentials.

This study is a valuable supplement to both Ducoff's earlier work (Wages of Agricultural Labor in the United States) and the recent publication by Maitland and Fisher (Area Variations in the Wages of Agricultural Labor in the United States), thereby adding continuity to research in this particular area. In addition, the author presents a number of hypotheses that can be tested by examining subsequent census data. He also attempts to analyze, whenever possible, specific occupational groups within the farm labor force. The fact that the hired farm labor force is in most studies treated as an aggregate, rather than by occupational categories, is a serious limitation on any refined labor force analysis, and Weatherford's effort in this regard is a noteworthy one.

Less satisfactory than the economic analysis is the treatment of the demographic aspects of the problem. This is partly due to oversimplification and the acceptance of rural-urban differentials that are open to serious question. Occasionally Weatherford treats "culture" as a residual category to account for the unaccountable, but in general he refrains from any attempt to psychologize the data.

There are several proofreading errors, two of which produce completely garbled passages (pp. 79 and 80) and render some of the conclusions unintelligible. There seems to be some rather unusual use of terminology, particularly in regard to labor force concepts. This reviewer would have preferred to see a more extensive treatment of the limitations of the data.

In the final chapter, Weatherford makes some policy recommendations which are strongly influenced by his admitted "sentimental attachment to farming as a way of life." For the sociologist, these recommendations present some stimulating ideas, for the policy maker or administrator, some formidable problems.

JAMES COWHIG

Agricultural Marketing Service U.S. Department of Agriculture

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Committee on a National Atlas of the United States. National Atlas of the United States. Map Information Office, U.S. Geological Survey, Washington 25, D.C., 1958. (A series of loose-leaf sheets.)

Durgin, Owen B. The Population of New Hampshire. 3. Effects of Migration on the Small New Hampshire Town. New Hampshire Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 437; Durham, May, 1957. 30 pp.

- Farrell, F. D. Kansas Rural Institutions: XIII. County Fair. Kansas Agr. Expt. Sta. Cir. 351; Manhattan, Aug., 1957. 36 pp.
- Hay, Donald G., and Sheldon G. Lowry. Use of Health Care Services and Enrollment in Voluntary Health Insurance in Montgomery County, North Carolina, 1956. North Carolina Agr. Expt. Sta. Prog. Rpt. RS-31, in cooperation with Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA; Raleigh, March, 1958. 12 pp.
- LaTourette, William G., ed. Labor Management on the Farm. Garden State Service Cooperative Association, Trenton, N.I., 1958. 60 pp.
- Lowry, Sheldon, G., and Donald G. Hay. Use of Health Care Services and Enrollment in Voluntary Health Insurance in Stokes County, North Carolina, 1956. North Carolina Agr. Expt. Sta. Prog. Rpt. RS-32, in co-operation with Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA; Raleigh, March, 1958. 15 pp.
- Mayo, Selz C. The Part Owner in North Carolina's Changing Agriculture. North Carolina Agr. Expt. Sta. Prog. Rpt. RS-26; Raleigh, March, 1957. 21 pp.
- Nielson, James, and R. F. Bittner. Farm Practice Adoption in Michigan. Michigan Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bull. 263; East Lansing, Jan., 1958. 64 pp.
- Price, Paul H., Alvin L. Bertrand, and Harold W. Osborne. The Effects of Industrialization on Rural Louisiana: A Study of Plant Employees. Louisiana Agr. Expt. Sta. Prog. Rpt., in co-operation with Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA; Baton Rouge, Jan., 1958. 65 pp.
- Ramsey, Charles E., and Robert A. Danley. Some Effects of the Fringe Migration on Channels of Communication. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Rural Sociol. Bull. 51; Ithaca, N.Y., April, 1957. 25 pp.
- Stangeland, Sigurd R. Father and Son Farming Agreements. North Dakota Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 413; Fargo, Feb., 1958. 24 pp.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service. Farm Population Estimates for 1957. AMS-80 (1957); Washington, D.C., Feb., 1958.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service, Agricultural Research Service and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Farmers' Expenditures in 1955 by Regions for Production and Farm Living ...with Tables on Off-Farm Income. A Cooperative Survey. USDA Statistical Bull. 224; Washington, D.C. April, 1958, 134 pp.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service, and U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service. Health Improvement Activity in Rural Development Program Counties—Second Progress Report. AMS-231; Washington, D.C., March, 1958. 6 pp.
- Wynne, Waller, Jr. The Population of Manchuria. International Population Statistics Reports Series P-90, No. 7; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1958. 93 pp.

News Notes

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Mississippi State University

By action of the 1958 Mississippi legislature the name of Mississippi State College was changed to Mississippi State University. In September, 1957, the Department of Sociology and Rural Life was transferred from the School of Business and Industry to the newly created School of Arts and Sciences.

John V. D. Saunders has accepted a Fulbright Award to lecture in rural and urban sociology at the University of Guayaquil, Ecuador from June, 1958, until March, 1959.

Harold F. Kaufman assumed the office of president of the Southern Sociological Society at its annual meeting in Asheville, North Carolina, April 10–12, 1958.

Harold F. Kaufman participated in the seminar on the sociology of religion held at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, from July 20 through August 2, 1957.

Marion T. Loftin delivered ten lectures on mental health to the Police Department of Meridian, Mississippi during the spring semester. The lectures dealt with the specific problem of how to recognize and handle mentally ill people. They were sponsored by the Lauderdale County Mental Health Association, the Meridian Junior College, and the Meridian Police Department.

North Carolina State College

C. Horace Hamilton, head of the Department of Rural Sociology, was named 1958 winner of the Oliver Max Gardner Award. This award, accompanied by a citation, was presented to Dr. Hamilton as the member of the faculties of the Consolidated University of North Carolina who, in the judgment of the Board of Trustees, "has made the greatest contribution to the welfare of the human race" during the current academic year. Hamilton was president of the Rural Sociological Society in 1949–1950 and of the Southern Sociological Society in 1957–1958.

University of Saskatchewan

The Board of Directors of the Center for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan, has announced the appointment of the senior staff members. These members include Dr. Arthur K. Davis, chief research officer, Dr. Darwin D. Solomon, chief training officer, and Mr. Harold R. Baker, chief consultant.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A new journal, International Review of Community Development, has begun publication. This review is sponsored by the International Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. Number 1 of the first volume is a special issue on community centers and contains articles in Italian, English, French, and German. Each article is translated or summarized in a second language. Two issues a year are planned.

The subscription rate is \$2.50, United States currency, per annum, or the equivalent. Subscription orders and other communications may be sent to Albert Meister, editor, Piazza Cavalieri di Malta 2, Rome, Italy.

The Rural Sociological Society

Program of 1958 Annual Meeting at State College of Washington

PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

AUGUST 23-25, 1958

AND

Joint Sessions with the American Sociological Society at University of Washington

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

AUGUST 27, 1958

Saturday, August 23, 1958

REGISTRATION—Beginning at 9:00 a.m., First Floor Lobby, Wilson Compton Union, State College of Washington

9:30 A.M.—Meetings of Executive Committee and Editorial Board 12:00 A.M.—Joint Luncheon of Executive Committee and Editorial

2:00 P.M.—Section 1

Room 116

Interdisciplinary Research

Board

Chairman: Carl Kraenzel, Montana State College

"Socioeconomic Aspects Bearing on Nonfarm Work Decisions Made by Farm Families"

Ward W. Bauder, Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Donald R. Kaldor, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Iowa State College

"An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of Farmer Cooperatives" George M. Beal and Richard Phillips, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Iowa State College

"Where I Live and Why—An Interdisciplinary Approach to English and American Comparisons"

Merton D. Oyler, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Ohio State University, and Howard Bracey, Department of Economics, University of Bristol, England

"Problems in Interdisciplinary Research"

Francena Nolan and M. E. John, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University

Discussion: William Sewell, Department of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin

Marvin P. Riley, Department of Rural Sociology, South Dakota State College

George Douglas, Department of Economics and Rural Sociology, Montana State College

Frank D. Alexander, New York State Extension Service, Cornell University

2:00 р.м.—Section 2

Outing Lounge

Rural Development

Chairman: Harold Kaufman, Mississippi State College

"Rural Development and the Social Sciences" Wilfrid C. Bailey, Mississippi State College

"Studies of the Effects of Industrialization in Rural Areas: Some Preliminary Findings"

Sheridan Maitland and James Cowhig, U.S. Department of Agriculture

"Level of Aspiration of Low-income Farm Operators as Related to Their Performance and Potential for Change"

Frederick C. Fliegel, Pennsylvania State University

"Rural Organization and Migration in Monroe County, Ohio" Wade H. Andrews, Ohio State University

Discussion: Glenn C. McCann, North Carolina State College John R. Christiansen, Brigham Young University Raymond Payne, University of Georgia Reed Bradford, Brigham Young University

4:30 P.M.—Free period

6:30 P.M.—Section 3

Dinner Meeting-Dining Room

Status and Role of Rural Sociology

Chairman: Harold Hoffsommer, University of Maryland

Welcome from Host

L. L. Madsen, Director, Institute of Agricultural Sciences, State College of Washington

"A Study of Job Image in an Academic Profession: The Rural Sociologist"

M. E. John, Roy Buck, Charles O. Crawford, and Donald E. Haas, Pennsylvania State University

Presidential Address: "The Role of Rural Sociology in a Changing Society"

Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University

Sunday, August 24, 1958

8:00-10:00 A.M.-Section 4

Outing Lounge

The Teaching of Rural Sociology

Chairman: Leland Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

"A Study of Introductory Rural Sociology Courses" Everett Rogers and John Clark, Ohio State University

"A Survey of Teaching Methods and Student Reactions"
Marvin Taves and Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota

"A Summary Critique of Current Textbooks"
George Blume and Leland Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Discussion

10:10 A.M.-12:30 P.M.-Section 5

Outing Lounge

Extension in Rural Sociology

Chairman: Wayne C. Rohrer, University of Maryland

"A Social Action Model"

George Beal, Iowa State College, and Harold Capener, Ohio State University

340

"The Sociologist's Role in Public Policy" Arthur Wileden, University of Wisconsin

"The Sociologist's Role in Program Projection" Gordon Cummings, Cornell University

"The Extension Agent's Role in Community Development"
Christopher Sower and Edward Moe, Michigan State University
Discussion

2:00-4:30 P.M.-Section 6

Outing Lounge

Research in Rural Sociology

Chairman: Paul J. Jehlik, U.S. Department of Agriculture

"Trends and Status of Rural Sociology Research" Paul J. Jehlik, U.S. Department of Agriculture

"Extension Rural Sociology Research" Emory J. Brown, Pennsylvania State University

"Preparation of Rural Sociology Research Bulletins" Mason E. Miller, Washington State College

"New Opportunities in Rural Sociology Research"
Irwin T. Sanders, Associates for International Research, Inc.,
Cambridge, Mass.

Discussion

4:30-6:00 P.M.

Outing Lounge

Business Meeting-First Session

8:00 P.M.

Games Area

Recreational Evening

Monday, August 25, 1958 Research Clinics

9:00 A.M.—Section 7

Room 116

Decision Making in Rural Society

Chairman: Eugene A. Wilkening, University of Wisconsin

Secretary: Ivan Nye, State College of Washington

"A Case Study in Decision-Making among a Farm Owner Sample in Wisconsin"

Eugene A. Wilkening, University of Wisconsin

"Information Sources in the Decision-Making Process" George Beal, Iowa State College

"Processes of Decision-Making in the Community" Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University "Personality Variables in Decision-Making" Joel B. Montague, Washington State College "Studying the Decision-Making Process" Frank D. Alexander, Cornell University

9:00 A.M.—Section 8

Room 115 A

Part-Time Farming

Major theoretical, substantive, and methodological considerations for designing a comprehensive study of the role of the part-time farmer in contemporary American life

Chairman: Walter L. Slocum, State College of Washington Secretary: Carol L. Stone, State College of Washington Subtopics:

"Demographic Factors and Definitions"

Prodipto Roy and Walter L. Slocum, State College of Washington Discussant: James D. Tarver, Oklahoma State University

"The Role of the Part-Time Farmer in Agriculture" George V. Douglas, Montana State College

Discussant: W. H. Metzler, U.S. Department of Agriculture

"The Nonfarm Occupational Role"

Edward Gross, State College of Washington

Discussant: George A. Donohue, University of Minnesota

"Patterns of Social Participation"

John R. Christiansen, Brigham Young University

Discussant: Ward W. Bauder, U.S. Department of Agriculture

"The Impact of Part-Time Farming on the Family" Frederick C. Fliegel, Pennsylvania State University Discussant: Merton D. Oyler, Ohio State University

"Communication"

Everett Rogers, Ohio State University

Discussant: E. J. Kreizinger, State College of Washington

9:00 A.M.—Section 9

Room 214 A

A Research Proposal for Designing a Sample of Communities Chairman: W. W. Reeder, Cornell University

Secretary: William A. Foster, Jr., Oregon State College

"The Research Proposal"

C. E. Ramsey and R. A. Polson, Cornell University

Discussion:

"The Proposal and the Literature on Communities"

Irwin T. Sanders, Associates for International Research, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.

342

"The Proposal and Sampling"

Robert B. Campbell, University of North Dakota

"The Proposal and Types of Communities"
Harold F. Kaufman, Mississippi State College

9:00 A.M.—Section 10

Room 215

Farmers' Expenditures for Health and Medical Care

Co-Chairmen: Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University, and Donald G. Hay, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Discussion Chairman: C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College

Co-Secretaries: John R. Christiansen, Brigham Young University, and Donald G. Hay, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Focal Study: "Farmers' Expenditures for Health and Medical Care in the United States"

Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University and Donald G. Hay, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Critique Topics:

"Methods of the Survey"

Sheldon Lowry, Michigan State University

"Theoretical Frame of Reference"

Paul J. Jehlik, U.S. Department of Agriculture

"Analytical Approach"

Ward F. Porter, Jr., U.S. Department of Agriculture

"Applied Significance of Findings"
Bardin H. Nelson, A & M College of Texas

1:00 P.M.—Section 11

Outing Lounge

The Saskatchewan Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life: An Approach to the Rationalization of Social Change Chairman: Carl Kraenzel, Montana State College

Presentation:

William B. Baker, Center for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan, and Meyer Brownstone, Local Government Continuing Committee, Government of Saskatchewan

Discussion: Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State University A. K. Davis, Center for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan

3:00 р.м.

Outing Lounge

Business Meeting-Second Session

Wednesday, August 27, 1958

Joint Sessions with the American Sociological Society
University of Washington
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

10:00 а.м.-12:00 м.-Section 12

210 Smith Hall

Rural Sociological Studies Abroad

Chairman: C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College "Rural Life in Austria"

Martin Taves and Hedwig Honigschmied, University of Minnesota "Fragmentation of Agricultural Holdings in Spain"

T. Lynn Smith, University of Florida

"Changes in Rural Life in Japan"
David Lindstrom, University of Illinois, and William A.
McKnight, Kansai Gakiun University

"Labor Force Replacement Ratios for Central American Countries" Louis J. Ducoff and Gladys K. Bowles, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Discussion: Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University Leo F. Schnore, University of California, Berkeley Arthur Raper, International Cooperation Administration Heinz J. Graalfs, San Jose State College

3:30-5:30 P.M.—Section 13

44

102 Smith Hall

Agricultural Labor Force and Occupations

Chairman: C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College

"Differences in the Self-Image of Rural and Urban Ministers" Samuel W. Blizzard, Princeton University

"Negroes in the California Agricultural Labor Force" C. Wilson Record, Sacramento State College

"Planning to Farm"

A. O. Haller, Michigan State University

"Manpower Adjustments in Low Income Rural Areas" William H. Metzler, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Discussion: Ivan Nye, State College of Washington Lewis Jones, Tuskegee Institute Glenn C. McCann, North Carolina State College Merton Oyler, Ohio State University

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A SERBIAN VILLAGE

JOEL MARTIN HALPERN, a social anthropologist, spent a year in the Serbian village of Orašac to observe the process of social and cultural change in a community that has historically felt the influences of foreign cultures. This is the first community study in English on Yugoslavia and one of the few works of social anthropology for the whole Balkan and East European area. \$6.00

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9

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PUBLISHED BY ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Address all correspondence to: Phylon, Atlanta University, Atlanta 14, Georgia

JOURNAL OF FARM ECONOMICS

Published by THE AMERICAN FARM ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION

Editor: ROBERT L. CLODIUS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WISCONSIN

Volume XL M

May 1958

Number 2

This journal contains additional articles, notes, book reviews, and announcement of new bulletins in agricultural economics and is published in February, May, August, November and December. Yearly subscription is \$9.

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